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ABSTRACT

Two major papers consider community problems of mental retardation and developmental disabilities, while two others present possible resolutions. Two selections present reactions to each of the four major papers. In the first major paper John L. Johnson discusses the issue of community heat, a term referring to the growing community resistance to certain patterns of community services and the sources of pressure for change being brought to bear on professionals. The second issue examined is the problem of labeling, by Richard J. Whelan and Fred S. Jackson. Particular attention is given to legal issues and aspects relating to the problems of labeling and student placement. In the third major paper Charles W. Thomas, concerned with possible resolutions of the problems, considers child advocacy as a model for social facilitation. The use of the Afro-American child as the primary focus for advocacy is developed. Stella Chess presents an ecological approach to mental retardation and developmental disabilities. Using an interactionist orientation, it is suggested that a problem should be viewed as not residing solely in the individual, but in the interaction between him and his environment. (KW)

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CONFRONTATION AND CHANGE: COMMUNITY PROBLEMS OF MENTAL RETARDATION AND DEVELOPMENTAL DISABILITIES

Editor: JULIUS S. COHEN

ISMRRD

The University of Michigan □ Ann Arbor

ED057524

CONFRONTATION AND CHANGE:
COMMUNITY PROBLEMS OF MENTAL RETARDATION
AND DEVELOPMENTAL DISABILITIES

Papers Presented at the Second Annual Spring Conference of the
Institute for the Study of Mental Retardation
and Related Disabilities
March 4-5, 1971

Edited by

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Section

INTRODUCTION - Julius S. Cohen 1

I COMMUNITY HEAT 7

Community Heat: A IV-Act Play on the Condition of Our Times - John L. Johnson 9

A Reaction to "Community Heat: A IV-Act Play on the Condition of Our Times" by John L. Johnson, Ed.D. - David Cason, Jr. 29

Comments on "Community Heat" by John L. Johnson, Ed.D. - Stephen Withey 37

II LABELING 43

Labeling - Richard J. Whelan and Fred S. Jackson 45

Labeling: A Special Education Crisis - Raymond N. Elliott . . . 79

Comment on a Paper by Dr. Whelan and Mr. Jackson - Virginia Davis Nordin. 99

III CHILD ADVOCACY 109

Child Advocacy: A Model for Social Facilitation - Charles W. Thomas. 111

Designing a Community Advocacy Program: A Response to Charles W. Thomas - Michael L. Tracy 125

The Dilemma of Child Advocacy: A Rejoinder to Charles W. Thomas - George E. Fukushima 133

IV THE ECOLOGICAL VIEW OF MENTAL RETARDATION AND RELATED DISABILITIES . . 141

Ecological Approach to Mental Retardation and Developmental Disabilities - Stella Chess. 143

Response to Dr. Stella Chess' Paper - William C. Rhodes. 161

Ecological Programs Go Beyond Clinical Services - James G. Kelly 165

LIST OF PARTICIPANTS 171

INTRODUCTION

The Institute for the Study of Mental Retardation and Related Disabilities functions primarily as a university-based, manpower training program. It is responsible not only for the training of professionals, but for personnel working at all levels in these areas. The Institute defines mental retardation broadly in terms of intellectual deficit, not limiting it to a definition based on a range within the IQ scale.

The Institute for the Study of Mental Retardation and Related Disabilities is concerned with a wide spectrum of child problems. As an aspect of the expression of this concern, the programs sponsored by the Institute consider a variety of problems in both the training and the provision of service in this field. The Institute has responsibilities, not only to other universities and service programs, but also to practitioners throughout the state. The staff is attempting to develop and demonstrate approaches that might help all personnel in mental retardation and related fields resolve some of the common problems that are encountered by them.

In an effort to carry out these responsibilities, there was a very careful consideration of the program content for the Second Annual Spring Conference. The foremost concern of the planning committee was that the conference be relevant to the needs of the children and families that do not represent the mainstream of this country. This relevance had to be not merely in terms of traditional approaches and the traditional view of problems in the field, but rather in terms of the new expression of the problems that are being faced today in the area of mental retardation and related problems.

The theme of this year's conference, "Confrontation and Change: Community Problems of Mental Retardation," was chosen in an effort to present a dynamic conference that would expose the participants to some of the most pressing and current concerns in the field. The issues selected for discussion were those which, though intensely important, usually have not been dealt with by practitioners. They are ones which, if they have been seen at all, have been perceived as problems of other systems or other practitioners.

On the first day of the conference, two problems were considered, and on the second day, two possible resolutions were presented. The first issue discussed was "Community Heat." This term refers to the growing community resistance to certain patterns of community services, and the sources of pressures for change which are being brought to bear on professionals purporting to serve the community. The phenomenon of community heat has emerged as people have begun to realize what their basic rights actually are and which ones are being systematically denied. They find that community service staff and programs are not where they are needed by consumers, that personnel are not responsive to requests for change. Dr. John L. Johnson, Assistant Provost for Minority Group Affairs, Syracuse University, presented the major paper on this topic. Dr. Johnson is uniquely qualified to speak on this matter since he has been deeply involved in the community action arena for the past several years, and has himself assisted in the process of generating community heat.

Two people were asked to present reactions to each of the four major papers. Mr. David Cason, who was Director of the Model Neighborhood Agency of Detroit for four years and who is presently an instructor in the Department of Urban Planning at The University of Michigan, delivered one of the reaction papers to Dr. Johnson's presentation. The other reactor was Dr. Stephen Withey, who is a member of the staff of the Institute for Social Research and the Department of Psychology at The University of Michigan. Though substantially in agreement with Dr. Johnson's provocative paper, the papers of both Mr. Cason and Dr. Withey present a more optimistic view than his of the current problems faced in the community.

The problem of "Labeling" was the second issue considered. This is the process by which a label is placed on a youngster due to his participation in a special program and to his contact with various professionals. It is a label that may follow him through school and very likely into his adult life -- a label that in many regards can be more debilitating than any supposed deficit in intelligence. When Dr. Richard Whelan, Head of Special Education Programs at the University of Kansas, was asked to develop this paper, he quickly indicated that he needed additional help to do a complete job. The help he needed was from the legal area, so he obtained cooperation from Mr. Fred S. Jackson, an attorney, who assisted in the preparation of the paper. The reactors to this paper, Virginia Davis Nordin, Associate Director of the Institute of Continuing Legal Education in Michigan, and Dr. Raymond N. Elliott, Assistant Professor in the School of Education at The University of Michigan, represent both education and the law. In their responses, they raised some interesting questions for educators and school administrators to consider -- questions which if not adequately answered by the professional may be answered through courts of law. Professionals concerned with mental retardation generally are unaware of the legal issues and aspects relating to the problems of labeling and placement. The papers presented here highlight the need for such programming in the training experiences provided students in the mental retardation field.

The third major paper, one of those concerned with possible resolutions of the problems, was developed by Dr. Charles Thomas, who is an Urban Problems Consultant and Chairman of the Education and Training Board of the American Psychological Association. Consideration of "Child Advocacy" presents a different view of the ways in which professionals may utilize their skills to help individuals who are trapped in existing educational service systems. The use of the Afro-American child as the primary focus for advocacy is an interesting concept and is fully developed by Dr. Thomas. The respondents to this paper were Dr. Michael Tracy, Program Associate in Psychology at ISMRRD, and Mr. George Fukashima, Director of the Division of Community Relations in Jackson, Michigan. The very different manner in which each person approaches the child advocacy concept makes these discussions especially interesting and thought provoking.

The final major paper of the conference was a presentation of the ecological point of view by Dr. Stella Chess, Professor of Child Psychiatry at New York University Medical Center. Using an interactionist orientation, Dr. Chess suggests that it is important to see a problem as not residing solely in the individual, but in the interaction between him and his environment. If we look only at the child, then healthy responses to a sick environment may be seen as pathology in the youngster rather than as a function of his interaction with the environment. Dr. William C. Rhodes, Program Director for Psychology at ISMRRD, and Dr. James G. Kelly, Professor of Psychology at The University of Michigan, were the reactors to Dr. Chess's paper. Dr. Kelly's paper is a discussion of the results and implications of a study he is conducting of the social adaptation of high school students to their environment, while Dr. Rhodes expands the dimensions to which the ecological-interactionist approach can be taken.

The conference stimulated a considerable amount of very strong feelings and discussions on the part of the participants. The reactions ranged from indications of this being the most vital, relevant conference that the participant had ever attended, to others which questioned whether the conference had anything to do with mental retardation. It is an unfortunate symptom of the problems of the field and the training and orientation of much of the American society that many people are unable to see the relationship between race and socioeconomic class and the child problems that are the basis of much special programming. Until the field is able to look at more than an intelligence test score and the behavior of a particular child who for a wide variety of reasons is singled out, identified, labeled and then isolated from a general school experience by a placement in a special class, there can be only slight advances in programs for exceptional children. This is especially true when the placement decision is determined to such a great extent by only the results of intelligence or achievement tests. There must be a clear recognition that the problem may lie not within the child, but within the larger society, the school, the teacher and other professionals. Children are often specially placed not because they are retarded nor because they are emotionally disturbed, but because they do not perform well on certain tests or are disturbing to teachers. The poor test performance may be evidenced by the responses of a Spanish-speaking child to a standardized intelligence test administered in English. Or it may be based upon the reactions of the teacher to the sex or race of a student and thus start the child down the path that leads to labeling, placement, and, in this society, failure.

The extent to which the conference was disturbing to the participants is in part a measure of the racism that has been built into the American educational system. W.T. Cobb paraphrases some comments made to him by Malcolm X. I think they eloquently highlight the problem:

> I reached out to the good people in every town I lived in for some help. They said no. They couldn't see past my smell. They couldn't see past my language. They couldn't see past my nappy head. They couldn't see past my raggedy clothes. They couldn't see me for looking and smelling and running.
>
> The people who helped me were the wrong people, from the point of view of the moral society, from the point of view of the democratic society. The people who helped me, whose hands reached out to mine, whose hearts and heads touched mine, were the pimps, the prostitutes and hustlers, the thieves, and the murderers. The people who helped me through grade school were the gangs. The people who helped me through the high school of adolesence were the kids up in the reformatory. The people who helped me through the college of life were the people in

> the prisons. And the people who helped me to get graduate training in the university of common sense were the people out in the streets, in the ghettos that were infested with crime and delinquency.
>
> When you meet and talk with these good people, black or white, say to them that I am a Negro who signifies a new breed. I am a black man not born in the South. Although I am a product of the South's history, I did not come out of Mississippi or Alabama or Georgia. I came out of Michigan and Illinois. Say to these people -- these good people -- that I was one of those kids that nobody wanted to bother with. I was a nappy-headed nigger who smelled bad, who talked bad, and acted bad, who had bad grades in school. But despite all of this badness I knew that I had some ability. I told myself that, and because I could tell myself that, I reached out for some help.*

Hopefully, as a result of the conference, some of the participants and some of the individuals who read these proceedings may understand what Malcolm X meant and what their new role must be in insuring that such children are seen and helped, helped within the framework and value system of their own experiences; not "helped" by merely being socialized and whitened before they upset us.

Julius S. Cohen
Ann Arbor, Michigan
March, 1971

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* W.T. Cobb, "American Negroes", in Differences that Make the Difference, ed. by R.K. McNickle, Joint Commission on Correctional Manpower and Training (Washington, D.C.: 1967).

1. COMMUNITY HEAT

John L. Johnson, Ed.D.
David Cason, M.U.P.
Steven B. Withey, Ph.D.

COMMUNITY HEAT: A IV-ACT PLAY ON THE CONDITION OF OUR TIMES

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PROLOGUE: THE TIMES IN WHICH WE LIVE AND "THE PROBLEM."

We seem to be faced with a problem of such magnitude and potency that few of us in the professional ranks are willing to face it squarely. I suspect that this is because we have been trained to feel that someone else has "the problem," and the role we must take is that of helper. Professionals have, in fact, developed a "we-them" mindset when it comes to "the problem." Many of us in the "paraprofessional" ranks seem to be faced with having been "them" for so long that the opportunity to be a partial "we" is too seductive to resist. Paraprofessionals have been trained to feel that they must interpret, to the helper, the experiential facts of living the problem so that those "others" who require help can be helped. Paraprofessionals have, in fact, become new marginal people who constantly live in transition and have developed an "almost but not quite" mindset. Most of us who purport to be neither professional nor paraprofessional, but just people who live within the spirit of the times, have found ourselves as the perpetual subjects of the "us-them" relationship established by professional helper and then paraprofessional helpers. It is us who are the recipients, the clients, the students, the victims. We are the objects to be studied, helped, experimented upon, served, delivered to and, eventually, the objects of human exploitation by other humans. It makes us mad; we are perpetually frustrated, and it is from us that community heat is generated, and it is in all our communities, no matter where, that our souls, minds, and lives burn.

The problem we must all face, regardless of our ascribed role at a particular moment in time, are the values which covertly dominate our lives, influence our behavior, and cause us to exist with smoldering resentment generated from within our individual and collective existence. The spirit of our times, derived from the past, confronts us all as humans and the relationships which accrue from this cultural and social interaction have resulted in the essence of the condition termed: "Man's inhumanity to man." In a very broad sense, that is "the problem," and we all live with it, participate in it, and accelerate it. We do so simply because we are all, at the same time, subject and object in the cycles of hierarchical exploitation of people by people. This is the spirit of the times in which we live.

What, then, is "the problem?" If we are truthful, we must admit that we are all faced with a number of manifestations of our problem. Some will note that we lack a fundamental concern for justice and equality. They are correct. Others will note that we are faced with poverty and economic deprivation. They are correct. Still others will note that large numbers of people are relegated to secondary status positions. They, too, are correct.

These are not simple problems, but interrelated issues which have to do with the fundamental values within which we all live, participate, have helped to develop, and maintain by our day-to-day behaviors. Human exploitation is the problem, and these are oppressive times in which we live. Let's take it step-by-step, almost as in acts and scenes of a play.

ACT I

Break down the problem so everybody can understand it and then get mad because they think they're not doing it to others and are just recipients.

We need to take a closer look at how we are all involved and affected by the problem of human exploitation. We can describe and define each manifestation of the problem. Such a partial description follows and is the basis for a generic list of conditions under which we all live _and_ participate:

Oppression (Friere 1970)

This is a condition which has mainly to do with peoples socialization and education. It also has to do with dehumanization through educational procedures which establish the means by which an oppressed and an oppressor learn their roles and prescribe the stages which each must attain in order to maintain the system as it is. The roles are mutual.

> For the oppressors, "human beings" refer only to themselves; other people are "things." For the oppressors, there exists only one right, not always even recognized but simply conceded, of the oppressed to survival (Friere 1970, p. 43).
>
> At a certain point in their existential experience, the oppressed feel an unresistable attraction towards the oppressor and his way of life. Sharing this way of life becomes an overpowering aspiration (p. 49).
>
> Self-depreciation is another characteristic of the oppressed which derives from their internalization of the opinion the oppressors hold of them (p. 49).

Oppression, and the pedagogy by which one becomes either an oppressor or the oppressed, is one of the problems of our times.

"Techno-Urban Facism, American Style" (Gross 1970)

This is a condition which has mainly to do with how we come to govern our behavior after we're socialized. We're faced with the prospect of a new style of behavior, based upon the concomitant growth of repression and technology. We may be faced with "a facist society operating under the new conditions of cybernetic technology, electronic mass media, nationwide urbanism, and a new structure of world power" (Gross 1970, p. 46).

We may, in fact, be already involved in a "managed society" ruled by "a faceless and widely dispersed complex of warfare-welfare, industrial-communications-police-bureaucracies caught up in developing a new-style empire based upon a technocratic ideology, a culture of alienation, multiple scapegoats and competing control networks" (p. 46).

Friendly as technology and bureaucracy may seem, they may hold forth facist propensity, and they have grown from within the institutions we now maintain. Thus, the "managed society" is a problem of our times.

Racism (Daniels and Kitano 1970)

This is a condition whereby a two-category system (superior-inferior) of race relations is established. It is "the belief that one or more races have innate superiority over other races" (Daniels and Kitano 1970, p. 5). It has deep manifestations where skin color is involved and has become culturally imbeded. We have what has become known as cultural racism, according to Fanon (1970):

> This racism that aspires to be rational, individual, genotypically and phenotypically determined, becomes transformed into cultural racism. The object of racism is no longer the individual man, but a certain form of existing (Fanon 1970, p. 42).
>
> We witness the destruction of cultural values, of ways of life. Language, dress, techniques are devalorized (p. 43).
>
> It is common saying nowadays that racism is a plague of humanity. But we must content ourselves with such a phrase. We must look tirelessly for the repercussions of racism at all levels of sociability. The importance of the racist problem in contemporary American literature is significant. The Negro in motion picture, the Negro and folklore, the Jew and children's stories, the Jew in the cafe, are inexhaustible themes (p. 46).
>
> Racism, to come back to America, haunts and vitiates American culture (p. 46).

Other forms of racism have come to our awareness, particularly white institutional racism, which is both covert and overt. There is a duality to the manner in which racism operates. There are roles for both racist and victim. There is not one without the other, and the dominant one is the racist.

One other point:

> The first thing we have to understand is that racism is not a "mental quirk" or a "psychological flaw" on an individual's part. Racism is the systematized oppression of one race of another (Boggs 1970, p. 147).

Racism has become the whole of interacting and developing processes which operate so normally and naturally, and we are so much a part of the existing institutions of the society, that the individuals involved are barely conscious of their operation. As Fanon says, "The racist in a culture with racism is, therefore, normal" (Fanon 1970, p. 148). Racism, racists, and victims and their pathological relationship to capitalism as an economic system is one of the problems of our times.

Sexism[1]

This has to do with the largest underclass we know and the manner in which women are thought of, and treated, by males. Women are niggers (Weinstein 1969) particularly in the manner in which our psychological knowledge is concerned.

---

[1] I am not so certain about my approach to this part, simply because I'm a man-oppressor. I hope I do no harm to the cause and only give courage to other men to try and free themselves. I have found an anthology of writings from the Woman's Liberation Movement quite helpful, especially the section titled, "The Invisible Woman: Psychological and Sexual Repression." Robin Morgan, The Sisterhood is Powerful, New York: Vintage, 1970.

> Psychology has yet nothing to say about what women are really like, what they need, and what they want, for the simple reason that psychology does not know (p. 20).
>
> Our culture and our psychology characterize women as inconsistent, emotionally unstable, lacking in a strong super-ego, weaker, nasturant rather than productive, intuitive rather than intelligent--suited to the home and family (p. 58).
>
> Except for their genitals, I don't know what immutable differences exist between men and women. Perhaps there are some other unchangeable differences; probably there are a number of irrelevant differences. But it is clear that, until social expectation for men and women is equal, until we provide equal respect for both sexes, answers to this question will simply reflect our prejudices (p. 58).

These prejudices are quite overt and are part of the every day lives of all of us: women are sex objects; women are "help-mates." Women seek to be liberated. Once again, there is a duality to the notion. There are roles that are taken at various stages and acted out by all concerned. This is one of the problems of our times.

ACT II

Scene One: Hold a conference to discuss and explore one of the symptoms of all of the problems combined: Mental Retardation.

We are participating in a conference on the Community Problems of Mental Retardation so that we can get into the issues and come up with some recommendations. This particular script has been written and acted out many a time. What we do is to take a symptom and try to deal with it. Purely and simply, it is symptom estrangement, for we all know how to deal with certain types of symptoms in open conference. It is usually those we feel quite comfortable about. Thus, we can act at confronting and changing, but in this theme it won't work, for each of us now knows that we are all implicated in the acting.

The contemporary play has now become one which involves the audience in one of the roles already discussed. Each of us is implicated in oppression, facism, racism, and sexism, either as superior or an inferior, so that we cannot escape. (It's time now to be mad and frustrated, but those are only symptoms of your early recognition of self-involvement in this condition of our times.) Mental retardation is a figment of oppression. It will thrive in a techno-urban facist America. It has racist overtones. It is deeply implicated in sexist mythology of our social system. It is a problem to be confronted and changed. It is just a symptom to be given a thorough examination. What must be examined though is our behavior and our values. In order to do this critical cultural examination, we must pull ourselves together into a "cultural circle" (Friere 1970) so that we can begin to understand the extent to which we all have become involved in this condition of our times. We can no longer comfortably sit in conference after conference and talk of the retarded or the "somebody else," or "them." Oppression, Facism, Racism, and Sexism are conditions in which we all exist and out of which we all must be liberated, if we can. We must all begin to generate community heat for, I believe, that is the first step toward getting straight and liberated. Community heat is, first, a symptom of health.

The charge for this paper has to do with a "background of community resistance to certain patterns of professional service" and the "emerging hostility towards traditional methods of psychological evaluation, existing school programs, or the feelings which are being expressed toward professionals who purport to 'serve' the community." But that is symptomatically trite.

Which of us who is forced to take one or more of the inferior roles would not generate some heat? None of us can afford such professional and objective complacency any longer. We all must seek to confront and change and be willing to generate, sustain, and fan the flames of personal heat, person-to-person heat, and any other type of heat which will bring the times in which we live to a close and open the door on a new chapter, of which we all must have a hand in writing. We are all "retarded" in the sense that the conditions of our time place constraints upon our ability to learn new behaviors. We are all, because of slow development, unable to project to any great degree from the current educative process about people.

This is why the thing (mental retardation) we are dealing with in this conference is a symptom, and we cannot afford to deal much longer in symptom estrangement. Many humans are living in a perpetual state of slow learning or total dependency, and those of us who purport to be educable or trainable are part and parcel of that heat. Moreover, we are, perhaps, the direct cause of the retardation with which we seek to deal. Once we can get that through our heads, maybe then we can free ourselves of our oppressive-fascist-racist-sexist views that keep all of us in a perpetual state of mental retardation. It is not simply educative process which is required, it is liberation and self-determination which is necessary.

Scene Two: Get us in deeper?

Obviously, there are some specific mechanisms which help to sustain this pathological condition.

What we want to do here is to list and describe several practices of common repute which sustain and reinforce the condition of which we are now aware. It does not matter that they come from a wide range of "intellectual disciplines;" the net effect is the same, and any person with the desire can generate his examples of how oppression-facism-racism-sexism is developing its own methodological procedures and techniques. By no means is this list conclusive, and readers are advised to improve upon and add to it as they make discoveries of new phenomena. The list:

1. The first technique has been around for a long time, and when used effectively it can produce quite an illusion. It is called "victim analysis." This consists of someone describing in great detail the problem, or condition, of the recipient of the inferior role to the exclusion of any description of the superior and the duality which exists between them. Thus, we have many studies now of children with learning disabilities, but few studies of teaching failures. There are several descriptions of poverty existence, but few of the leisure class. Mostly, these types of analysis explore the culture, family, and mental health of the oppressed or the victim, not that of the racist or the oppressor. When it is done it's covered up by jargon like "authoritarian personality" or "blue-collar workers." Some examples of victim analysis are:

a. Tally's Corner by Elliott Liebow. Boston: Little, Brown, 1967.

b. "Counting the Poor: Another Look at the Poverty Profile" by Mollie Orshansky. Social Security Bulletin, January, 1965.

c. Mental Health and Segregation edited by Martin M. Grossack. New York: Springer Publishing Co., Inc., 1963.

Each, in its own way, offers a thorough description of the victim of some force, but little of the perpetrator of the acts which would cause street corner men to exist, the poor to have to be counted, or for black people to be in mental anguish in segregated racist cities and states. The technique of victim analysis provides only a description of one side of the condition, with little other purpose than to describe. These types of works now pervade the literature. In smaller ways, the few black children (of the AFDC mother) in a white school or the parent of a handicapped child are constantly studied, analyzed, and recorded as data, thus making them victims. This technique, "victim analysis," has now begun to develop its own handbooks of techniques and criticisms. I refer an interested reader to the following:

a. Blaming The Victim by William Ryan. New York: Pantheon, 1971.

b. "Opinion: Research and the Black Backlash," by J. P. Comer. American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 40: 8-11, 1970.

2. The second technique is that of research and codification of findings into a science of some sort, mainly the social sciences. The researcher, building upon a body of knowledge taken from victim analysis, can now be "objective" through scientific methods. He seeks to test hypotheses and to formulate theories about the people and their condition. Examples of these are:

a. "The Negro and Learning to Swim: The Buoyancy Problem" by B. L. Allen and David L. Nickel. Journal of Negro Education, 38: 404-411, 1969.

b. "Divergent Thinking, Age, and Intelligence in White and Negro Children" by I. Iscoe and J. Pierce-Jones. Child Development, 35: 785-797, 1964.

An assault has already been made against the type of research which focuses upon the individual and the family, rather than the social condition. Comar (1970) and Suchman (1969) raise some issues which must be taken into account before more research is carried out, at least on black people. The Baratz's (1970) also enter a plea up to the point where they begin to prescribe and do program development. There is also the problem that most agents of research are white. Thus, Brown (1970) is able to state:

> Far too many researchers studying educational problems of minority groups draw faulty conclusions because they don't know how to ask right questions. . . . The trouble is that practically all educational researchers are middle-class whites who do not understand the cultural subtleties of various minority groups.

The result of research, as above, attempts to test hypotheses about physical characteristics and floating ability (a return to scientific racism). In the other cases comparison between culturally uncomparable groups is attempted. These are examples of works which also pervade the social sciences.

3. The third technique is that of the determination of values from managerial concerns or of just prescribing what must be done to make it easier to manage the problem. This is where technology, machines, consultants, and forms of professionalism come to bear, particularly when the superior has funds to "look into the problem and to develop a program." Most job-training programs for oppressed people are like that. Almost all drug education by professionals serves the professionals, not the addict. Early childhood intervention has been shown to have its own special form (Baratz and Baratz 1970). Once there has been a thorough victim analysis, then research, we can have managerial intervention in order to help with the problem. The values of helping are to be found in the rewards of foundation and government funds being readily available until the process itself becomes auto-reinforcing. Again, the problem of the individual is managed, rather than the social condition which caused the problem.

Examples:

a. "Anthropology on the Warpath in Vietnam" by Eric R. Wolf and Joseph G. Jurgensen. New York Review of Books 15: 26-35, November 19, 1970.

b. "Comprehensive Vocationally Oriented Psychotherapy for Adolescent Delinquent Boys: A Follow-up Study" by M. Shore and J. Massimo. American Journal of Orthopsychiatry 36: 609-615, 1966.

c. "The Fem Lib Case Against Sigmund Freud" by R. Gilman. New York Times Magazine, January 31, 1970.

And it is from these individuals and clusters that the heat is being generated.

4. Service programs, first based upon victim analysis, research, and management-value needs, bring the cycle to completion and to the beginning of a new, more sophisticated direction. Take, for instance, the conditions which are generated by welfare, prisons, and schools as three examples of straight-out dependency and exploitation. Everyone is upset with welfare: taxpayer, recipient, and administrators, but all are caught in a bind where each needs the other. Prisons are well-known for the teachings they leave on men's minds, but what has just become known is the imprint they leave on the keepers' minds. Schools have their own citation as joyless and have produced their own parallel system of special education for the slow learner and disruptive child while, at the same time, many taxpayers are quite upset over their exclusion of children who do not present themselves as ideal clients.

There are many specific examples of service-dependency, and each person is free to generate his own. Two more sophisticated ones are performance contracting for schools, and poverty programs.

Performance contracting procedures, like most behavior modification programs, have more to them than the eye would let us see. They are potentially developing a capitalist-political dependency. Students become market capital, and the notion of contracts between company and teacher is only the beginning of a new type of profit motive economic system.

Given money and rewards for performance (by whose values?), we will soon see a new day in the schools, particularly when the students organize into unions to demand a share of the pot. Pretty soon, schools will be just like the automobile industry where one can't distinguish the company from the union, particularly at the administrative level.

Poverty programs have developed their own special type of dependency techniques. (Rather, they should be called anti-poverty techniques.) The dependency is not found among the poor, but among the new breed of povertycrats who would be without work (their protestations to the contrary) and the position of being superior to some other people, who really need basic survival and existence techniques in an increasingly technological society. What we see is simply a new method involving inclusion-exclusion principles and hope-raising.

These two examples represent only a second stage of the cycle and the future holds as much. What is similar about them is the collusion of professionally educated people who are involved in the dependency generating and exploitation. This criticism holds also for the professional organizations which are to look out for the interests of the profession. Can any of us imagine the American Medical Association permitting a medical school to be turned over to a corporation to be run on a performance contract basis? The examples given speak also to the role of universities in offering a truthful education. Can any of us imagine the changes that people must go through in training programs (social work, education, community planning, etc.) to convince themselves that, when they finish a master's degree, they can deliver services to the poor? Can any of us imagine that we now have programs which purport to "train" people how to care for their infants, including invasion of homes, and that there has been no thorough discussion of the value-laden impact that infant training (or universal day care advocated by women's lib, for that matter) will have?

These examples have been provided to attempt to show how deeply we all are implicated in the oppression-facism-racism-sexism behavior which has permeated our times. It is a depressing picture, no doubt, but nevertheless I believe it to be so, and it is the truth which will set us all free--if we want to face it.

ACT III

The mentally retarded as a case study.

The impression that the mentally retarded are becoming the epitomization of the posture of exploitation, which is the condition of our times, is valid. They have already been declared a surplus population, superfluous within our own society which is based upon the "Darwinian concept of the struggle for existence through competition for scarce goods" (Farber 1968, p. 9). (Remember performance contracting?)

> The mentally retarded join others who are incapable of filling slots in social organization. . . Thus, they join an amorphous group that exists but has no integral role in the social organization of the society which could easily continue to function without this surplus population. Instead, society must divert much of its energy to the maintenance of a population that is unproductive in the institutions of the economy, the family, the arts, the sciences, and the political arena. In all important aspects, this population is surplus; and part of this surplus population is mentally retarded (p. 13). (Emphasis mine.)

Farber's notions bear examination and analysis, for what is to happen in the future can, perhaps, be determined from current events. A case in point follows:

Muhammad Speaks (November 13, 1970 and January 29, 1971) reports what is going on in Chicago. The November 13 issue carries the following article headlines:

"Handicapped Youths Work for a Dime an Hour"

"Exploitation of Handicapped!"

The article describes a job training center for the "so-called retarded and educable mentally retarded." (Quotes theirs.) The article, written by a staff member of the center, states:

a. "Many are paid ten cents an hour for assembling items that sell for $5 to $7!"

b. "Production schedules, profits, and competitive performances are stressed."

c. "There is no time for basic education. No time to teach a young adult, eager to learn, the time of day, how to change a dollar, how to travel across the city, or how to keep himself clean."

d. There are unhealthy work conditions: "stringing plastic Christmas wreaths" . . . "with over one hundred red-hot peppers--peppers so strong, special masks must be used by the trainees. . ."

e. "Recently, the trainee lunch break was reduced from 45 to 30 minutes in order to meet heavy production demands."

The January 29 issue reports the following:

> Refusal of the Board of Directors of the Chicago Association for Retarded Children to listen to the demands by parents and teachers for better programs and correction of deplorable working conditions has caused the staff of 11 centers for retarded children to go on strike.

Shown in a picture were a union business agent, a union leader (also a caseworker) and a teacher. The union leader/caseworker was quoted:

> The callousness of some of the board members is hard to understand . . . since three of them have children attending the agencies. One of the buildings which houses an agency is owned by a board member. They want a baby-sitting service, free of charge, so no one will know that they are parents of retarded children, yet they won't vote us funds to improve our teaching techniques or conditions.

The implications of all this should be quite obvious, particularly in view of the oppression-facism-racism-sexism paradigm. Most of us, in our own educational thinking, are oppressors intellectually and affectively where the retarded are concerned. The very notion of a retarded person is oppressive to values of human dignity. Facism is manifest in the government by an elite (caseworkers) and the intrajection of a formal hierarchy (a union) without fixation of responsibility. (What are the children doing while the staff is striking?) Racism is a part of every institution controlled by whites. (The business agent for the union was, of course, white.) Sexism is implied in the whole business of "babysitting" and the obvious implication of mother neglect in the desire to have a child away from home.

The brief case study given above certainly requires a serious follow-up, but it cannot be dismissed as N=1 data. The ramifications are far more subtle, particularly those having to do with surplus populations and the recent IQ controversy.

Black, Puerto Rican, poor children and youth populate EMR classes, job training workshops, etc., in disproportionate and increasing numbers. As more blacks are desegregated into previously white schools, more and more will be found to be incapable of adjusting to the particular type of schooling provided and, thus, labeled surplus. Their teachers have already been declared a surplus population, and the government is offering them retraining programs for teachers displaced by desegregation! In northern cities, which are almost entirely black, can one justify classes for EMR at all! whether teachers are trained or not?

Add to this the notions of intelligence quotients and aptitude assessment which are culturally biased. The recent controversy, wherein data were analyzed to show that blacks may be genetically less intelligent than whites, can be viewed as the utilization of "scientific-technological" methods for proof of superfluousness within the society insofar as black people are concerned. On the other hand, the ominous thought of millions of women emerging from their homes and roles as housewives (withholding sex perhaps will become the basis for a new form of performance contracting, for white men) to displace who knows how many now employed persons, is a serious possibility. Particularly in view of our hierarchical human value system which places white women at the top, and certainly in view of the generally higher education and training levels found among whites.

The Chicago job training center for the retarded represents the place where many of us are likely to be if we do not attend quite seriously to the conditions of our times. It represents the condition some of us may find as a solution to the frustrations of being declared superfluous.

ACT IV

The End -- Prospects for the Future.

We are, obviously, faced with a dilemma, and etiquette requires that something be said about what must be done. Plans must be given so that action can be discussed and "the system" changed. I'm not certain that anything can be done unless we are all committed. But to what? I want to raise four questions to test commitment:

Question #1

Is there such a thing as change or reclamation of a system which fosters inhumanity to man in its institutions and through its peoples' cultural actions? Theoretically or ideally?

Question #2

What are the basic human factors which support and maintain the types of conditions about which we are concerned?

Question #3

Assuming that there is a political and economic core to all that we do, what are the steps which must be taken to bring about a different type of human political and economic existence?

Question #4

How do we initiate the types of freedom-oriented processes that promote a humanistic point of view which takes precedence over

> money and property, and so that politics and economics function for people?

The answers are quite straightforward as verbalism, but difficult to implement as actions. We have already been engaged in manifestations of the method from which the new order is to come, if it comes at all. It is to be found through rebellion and revolution, with humanistic education forming the core of the process and serving as a stabilizing force. These notions are not easily explained but better lived and experienced.

Rebellion is community heat. Those of us who have not been involved in generating heat toward community control of everything are simply not for different processes. Those of us who have not now engaged in culture circles (perhaps women will want to participate in consciousness raising groups) where verbalisms and reflections can be transformed into activism, are not for the new order. What must be accomplished is the genuine effort of "learning to perceive social, political, and economic contradiction and to take action against the oppressive elements of reality" (Friere 1970, p. 19). This new type of educative process would permit us all to live the practice of freedom and to develop a critical consciousness while being responsible to each other.

Finally, revolution: cultural revolution is a total ideological and organizational approach to social change. It means that "all methods for cultural communication must be placed in public ownership," and that "the American national psychology and the organization of American cultural institutions must be altered to fit the facts of what America really is" (Cruse 1969, p. 112-113). Perhaps, the first step in a two- or five-year cultural revolution would be to shut down the schools. Close them tight and begin planning anew, for the core of cultural revolution is to be found in the teaching of the truth and in how that truth is to be taught to the young. It *is*, in the final analysis, the truth which will set us all free.

The revolution which is sought is a revolution of values: humanism and justice. The rebellion which is sought is a rebellion against exploitation: poverty, racism, classism, and sexism. The education which is sought is that kind of which many black folk speak:

> "Get yo' education boy, that's one thing they can't never take away from you."

The times for revolution, rebellion, and a new education are now. Community heat is only the symptom of what is to come. We have all been warned, and now we are all responsible.

EPILOGUE

> Liberation = Awareness + Contact
>
> Awareness of oppression leads to anger and a wish to do something about one's oppression so that a person who becomes so aware changes from one who is alienated to one who is angry.
>
> Liberation requires contact as well as awareness. That is to say, contact with other human beings who, united, will move against the oppression.
>
> An individual cannot move against his oppression as an individual; he can only do so with the support of a group of other human beings. (Steiner 1970).

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A REACTION TO
"COMMUNITY HEAT: A IV-ACT PLAY ON THE CONDITION OF OUR TIMES"
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Dr. Johnson has written an extremely provocative paper. His perceptions of the problems that generate "community heat" are acute and cogent. Generally, I agree with his basic theses: First, "That the professional (in the company of his handmaiden, the paraprofessional) is imposing his values on those he proposes to serve." Second, "Through techno-urban fascist oppressive methods the professional is perpetuating racist and sexist exploitation that result in universal mental retardation."

However, there are a few specific points in the thesis that I feel require mild critical comment or minor elaborations. As a beginning, it would have been helpful for the salient terms to have been defined. At some risk, I will offer pertinent definitions and hope that I am responding to the theme of the paper rather than to my own guidelines.

In my opinion, it is perfectly true that the professions do study, help, experiment upon, serve, and deliver to humans, but these actions do not necessarily lead to eventual human exploitation. A specific case brought to mind is the efforts that are leading to the eventual cure of sickle cell anemia. There are dediçated and idealistic individuals in all professions and one of their charges is to root out the charlatans in the respective professions.

Dr. Johnson's accurate portrayal reveals the real dangers of pervasive fascism in our new technology and bureaucracy which are evolving into a "managed society." A facet of this managed society is a lack of visible leadership manifested in identifiable individuals. Increasingly, amorphous committees that consistently evade accountability call the "shots."

The discussion of racism is thorough and colorfully descriptive. However, for conciseness I will add the definition to be found in the Random House Dictionary:

> Racism: (1) a belief that human races have distinctive characteristics that determine their respective cultures usually involving the idea that one's own race is superior and has the right to rule others. (2) a policy enforcing such asserted right. (3) a system of government and society based upon it.

Today the word "fascism" is heard in various contexts. Many individuals conveniently refer to American society in terms of being a fascist state when they are describing some element of oppression or racism. The Random House definition of "fascism" is:

> A governmental system led by a dictator having complete power, forcibly suppressing opposition and critisim, regimenting all industry, commerce, etc., and emphasizing an aggressive nationalism and often racism.

Racism permeates the whole fabric of America, but America is not yet a fascist state.

The subject of sexism is treated well except it does not go far enough. Dr. Johnson stops short at a point that is highly suggestive of a unisex. The critical feature is that it is not the difference between the sexes that accounts for sexual discrimination, but rather the idea that women are treated as inferior human beings.

Status of Women at The University of Michigan defines sexism as:

> 1. A belief that human sexes have distinctive makeups that determine their respective roles, usually involving the idea that one sex is superior and has the right to rule the other;
>
> 2. a policy of enforcing such asserted rights; and
>
> 3. a system of government and society based upon it.

Whether they were in agreement or not, women have been assigned a lower status position. On the other hand, I believe that the feelings of racism are much more intense than sexism.

In Act II, Scene One, the author opens the door to a corridor which gives us glimpses of tantalizing solutions. Granted that "mental retardation is a figment of oppression," or that it is a symptom; what is of prevailing importance is that mental retardation is a result, and it is a very real result to those who are retarded.

Heber defines the condition in the following manner:

> Mental retardation refers to subaverage general intellectual functioning which originates during the development period and is associated with impairment in adaptive behavior (p.9).
>
> The definition specifies that the subaverage intellectual functioning must be reflected by impairment in one or more of the following aspects of adaptive behavior: (1) maturation, (2) learning, and (3) social adjustment. These three aspects of adaptation assume different importance as qualifying conditions of mental retardation for different age groups (p.10).
>
> Within the framework of the present definition mental retardation is a term descriptive of the current status of the individual with respect to intellectual functioning and adaptive behavior. Consequently, an individual may meet the criteria of mental retardation at one time and not at another. A person may change status as a result of changes in efficiency of intellectual functioning with level of efficiency always being determined in relation to the behavioral standards and for the individual's chronological age group.

Mental retardation is a state that may in some cases be derivative of oppression. The Random House definition of oppression is: "The exercise of authority in a burdensome, cruel, or unjust manner."

A very intriguing aspect in this area is the joint classification of racism and sexism as promoters of mental retardation. Such an example is the statement that mental retardation "has racist overtones .... and is deeply implicated in the sexist mythology." There is little doubt that it can be dramatically proven that mental retardation has racist overtones, but I firmly believe that any attempts to prove that it has sexual overtones with current statistics may be exceedingly dubious, especially when women in general have played Lady Macbeth roles in America's racial tragedies.

Of course, my analysis may be completely awry in the case that I may be responding to the wrong definition of mental retardation.

Finally, in Scene one the author states that "It is not simply educative process which is required; it is liberation and self-determination which is necessary." My comment is that what we really want is a real educative process. For the ultimate purpose of education is to free the mind and insure the confidence necessary for self-determination.

I enjoyed Scene Two in which three specific mechanisms were projected to illustrate how the pathological condition portrayed in Scene one is maintained. I hesitate to completely accept the "victim analysis" concept.

Instead, I venture to offer the fact that victim analysis does not have to be the same thing as victimization. The major concerns with victim analysis have been stated well by Dr. Johnson, but when we remove the element of middle-class social science bias, we discover that social pathology exists in all cultures and it must be researched in order to develop the proper therapy. The fact that whites appropriated logic and the scientific method does not mean that intellectualism is solely their property or is inherently negative. Rational thought for arriving at valid conclusions is to be desired in any system and is a property of all men who develop the correct combinations of imagination, insight, and perception. "The baby should not be thrown out with the bath."

In regard to the stated dearth of studies about the leisure class and privileged society, I contribute the names of Marx, Velen and Mills, just to mention a few. Currently, social scientists are investigating research biases in regard to race and culture. Rodman, a family sociologist at the Merrill Palmer Institute, and Lowinger, a psychiatrist at the LaFayette Clinic, are two such people. This is certainly an area where the black scientist can meet the challenge and produce data that refute victimization.

The other two techniques: 1) research and codification, and 2) determination of values from managerial concerns are excellently stated. Also, Dr. Johnson's comments about these types of actions helping to sustain and reinforce our stagnant conditions of societal mental retardation are indicative of his keen perception.

I found the notion of service dependency to be of great significance. However, I disagree that performance contracting for the schools is a bad idea. Performance contracting mainly resulted from attempts to develop accountability in response to community "heat." I was amused at the thought white women might withhold sex as a basis of performance contracting. It is my opinion that to some degree this technique has been and is being attempted. One unforeseen result may have been to enrich the ghetto prostitute.

We are now discovering that various poverty programs may have created service dependencies in some communities. This is evident in the petty and vicious squabbles over the division of funds among factions, while the original goals have been all but obliterated. It is ironic that these monies which were originally intended to increase the quality of urban life have in many cases caused almost permanent splits in the community.

Dr. Johnson, in concluding his paper, asks some basic and agonizing questions concerning changes in the system and the directions these changes should take. He acknowledges the difficulties of change implementation but he does categorically state that change "...is to be found through rebellion and revolution, with humanistic education forming the core of the process and serving as a stabilizing force. These notions are not easily explained but better lived and experienced." This indeed is a neat and perhaps painless course for achieving revolution and rebellion. But the sad fact is that "living and experiencing" alone are not enough to achieve revolution and rebellion. There are no simple solutions for arriving at profound social changes. Easy victories are usually, at best, temporary victories and only serve to delude those who are seeking true liberation.

It will take vigorous thinking, serious research and long-range planning to repair the damage that has been done to people under this system.

I unequivocally disagree with the statement that "those of us who have not been involved in generating heat toward community control of everything are not for different processes." One has to first define what community control is and to what level it extends. Community control at first glance gives one an exhilarating feeling, but community control may be a deceptive process.

Many learned and dedicated individuals assume that communities have built-in competencies and capabilities for instant control of their environment. This can be a fallacious assumption that tends to lead one toward the romanticizing of revolution and rebellion. Some communities, particularly those that have been retarded through the years, are so disorganized and unorganized that it will take vast amounts of time and training to develop consensus mechanisms for goal attainment, especially goals for rebellion and revolution. Means are explicit policies for ends, and policy formulations are always endangered because of conflicting values.

The moment individuals become involved with policy formulation they become involved with decisions which lead us to the ultimate in the decision-making process, and that is the concept of power.

Power is nothing more than the ability to affect or help to affect decision. To be in on the decision-making process, community heat must result in systematically structuring the following:

1. Power equilibrium must be established to control the exploitation factor.
2. The division of labor must be regulated in order to prevent power disequilibriums.
3. A decision-making system preferably based on "choice" theory must be developed.

These measures also will aid in preventing the oppressed from becoming the oppressors as change occurs.

Overall, the paper "Community Heat" is an excellent presentation. My reaction is that it lacked minor definitional content.

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COMMENTS ON "COMMUNITY HEAT" BY JOHN L. JOHNSON, ED.D.

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People get mad, you say, when separated from the rest of humanity derogatorily, exploitively, impersonally, rejectedly, or oppressively. In such a case you do not need an ally and I am certainly not going to be an opponent.

You pose several exploitive dichotomies

You explore symptoms of problems

You explain mental retardation as another symptom of oppression and human surplus, and

You exhort for rebellion.

Community heat, you say, comes out of the "rebellion" of one side of these dichotomies against the other -- the victim against the oppressor, the female against the male, the managed against the managers, people against people. But I am concerned with the joint problem even more than its sidedness.

The values of rebellion are not necessarily constructive. Change is not always good. Sincerity is not always shown by anger. Indignation is not the only word to follow "righteous." But "change, rebellion, anger and indignation" are appropriate. My case is that they are not enough.

We need knowledge, experimentation and invention. But you are right to point an accusing finger at research that isolates its inquiry from a context that studies one role with its complement, that puts into people what should be situational and that does not feed back understanding.

We need ingenious management in a crowded and complex society; management that broadens participation, distributes decision powers, and possesses sincerity and sensitivity. We need new values, shared ones, because both sides of the rifts and fissures that separate opposing dichotomies have their separate values, their separate justice and their separate fair process. And values are stubborn things.

We need other things too because problems are in people, in institutions, and in the recognition of change and the realities of things that change slowly.

In the past, most rebellions were staged by people who were being enslaved, exploited or otherwise treated terribly. They were clearly rebelling against bad treatment.

Now we see a revolt of most of the people for whom good is being done. For the first time students, mental patients, welfare mothers, and even people being rehabilitated in prisons are suggesting they take part in what's going on.

What is happening?

What is happening is complex and we do ourselves a service if we do not regard it as simple.

It is not simple to recognize that people have vastly unequal skills and abilities, unequal power, resources and needs, and yet develop situations of compatible roles, meaningful autonomy, help without debasement, equality with disequalities, and shared feelings of human worth. Such a world is not won on a field of battle. It is not easily grown.

We have had a social structure in which status and privilege were based on family, property, race, age, sex, income, education and occupation. They are crumbling one by one. Family and geneology are about dead. Race is finally weakening, masculinity is under attack. The rights and values of wealth are now sternly questioned.

Age is a dubious value. The generation gap is not defined by whether children like their parents. The generation gap developed because the world changed so suddenly that the old world was gone. Now some of us don't fit as well as others.

What is changing is not only physical and political reality and economic conditions, but also beliefs, aspirations, opportunities and values. It is indeed impossible to keep pace with all of them unless you are born into the "new world."

Almost always community heat is generated by a minority, sometimes opposing another minority, with a large indifferent or uninvolved group otherwise preoccupied. So the generator of community heat always has two opponents -- the opposition and the indifferent -- and sometimes a third, the ally who wants a different strategy.

An emphasis on the polarity screams like the entrenched foe under attack. But it really serves as a recruiting speech to the unvolunteered, or as a pep rally to one's allies. However, political battles for votes can be won that way.

But conflicts do not always solve problems. A victory or a defeat turns the hourglass upside down but the polarity continues. A compromise is usually seen as an unsatisfactory weakening of both sides, each of which was supported by values and beliefs which were thereby diluted.

Problems are more often solved by recognizing that "compromise" may be a third resolution more creative than the positions represented by either polarity. The polar axis gets turned into a triangle and that's helpful.

I agree that community heat arises out of dichotomies that have one-sided rewards and one-sided responsibility. But I propose that much community heat arises because the situation is seen or defined or staged as a polar dichotomy.

It is dangerous to treat people as if they belonged rigorously to an abstract class with some label. You reach the devil's point of view or the point of view of justice by treating cases as specimens of so many respective genera. The road to indifference, whether evil or good, lies in the thought of the abstract, simple classification. It shows the world in a clear, frosty light without the mists of affection or sentiment. And it shows a world from which meaningful, insightful tangles of complexity are absent.

Mentally retarded, female, student, young, manager -- cause heat when regarded as single categories that imply all that needs to be said.

But we must talk and behave in a world of labels, words and classes. Since this is so, we do well to develop many categories and not just dichotomies if we want to deal with reality and not just start a conflict. We are well aware of the consequences of being labeled delinquent, criminal, dumb, a failure, but perhaps less aware of the consequences of being labeled brilliant, successful, good or rich.

Unless you _accept_ the single label and the implied dichotomy, few of us are _in all aspects_ of our lives deserving of the labels: failure, good, rich, delinquent or superior.

We also do well, I think, not to get pushed into a role that has only _one_ complement -- its opposite. This is the situation of protagonists and adversaries, victors and victims, attackers and defenders. To substitute the role of attacker for the role of victim is simply to move the roles around, not to alter the situation. The action that is needed in society is altered values and new innovations, not a redefinition of a new human surplus or a mere shift of battlegrounds or a realignment of troops.

We do well to realize the complexity of life. Causes are complex and goals are not singular. Mental retardation, for instance, our concern today, is partly physiological, _and_ relative to educational opportunity, _and_ relative to rather ambiguous tests, _and_ socially magnified, _and_ institutionally horrified _and_ a gradient not a cell, _and_ a mixed pattern of symptoms. To treat them as a single class or a single problem is to rob us of effectiveness and sensitivity.

Simplicity and efficiency have been attractive in machines and underlings and also seductive ways of seeing social problems and their solutions. But machines, underlings and problems have all changed. We are changing, the social deck is being shuffled, perspectives and values are shifting and we are altering the way we work on problems.

Community heat may be good or healthy if it turns attention to social ills, but it ceases to be helpful if it stands in the way of solving the problems over which it was generated. The values that generate the "heat" may not be "cool" enough to deal with the real problems.

One way to reduce community heat is to form coalitions recognizing common and unique problems and the interlocking character of roles. There has been some attempt, for instance, to form coalitions of victims of police practices including police who, in a way, were victims of their role. The problem is thus complex, and the solution probably must be equally complex.

A lot of this is characteristic of our society, our communities and our times, but the problems of this conference are woven into this material. Any community problem should be seen in this setting however difficult the fit. Perhaps, Dr. Johnson, this is what you mean by "revolution by humanistic education," and that is a challenging association of words.

The problems of the deprived, the handicapped, the losers, the restricted and the unloved are not solved by just removing exploiters, handicappers, judges, jailers and rejecters. The destructive consequences of community heat may sometimes be needed to clear the brush and the contamination and the ruins of decaying ways of life, but we need community warmth to grow new shoots, to smile and to work together.

Much of our current crisis has been attributed to the revolution of aspirations in our world. Perhaps we all share in that utopian revolution and perhaps one shared aspiration is that our problems be solved efficiently, capably and speedily. Maybe one cause of community heat is that aspiration. It is frustrating to wait, but it would be more frustrating to be working on the wrong problem.

II. LABELING

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LABELING

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Labeling in the context of this conference refers to a label used to describe a complex behavior interaction process that exerts impact during the total life span of an individual. Labels can be used to represent and assign values of status and stigma to people, objects, and events. In the process of assigning a simplistic representation (label) to complex interactions, it is possible that the process will culminate in an appropriate assignment of the label, or it may result in an erroneous use of the label. Whether labels are used correctly or incorrectly, the process of acquiring and applying labels in both instances can be identified and described.

Because labels exert influence in human interactions, it is important to recognize the impact label usage has upon individual and group behaviors. Subsequent sections concentrate on description and assessment of the impact that behaviors, labeled as labeling, have upon educational systems for children, particularly those children who have been labeled as handicapped for a variety of reasons. Several discrete, but interrelated aspects of labeling are described. These aspects include label meaning and acquisition, uses and misuses of labels, challenges to current educational practices of assigning labels, and general reflective comments regarding the labeling process.

LABEL MEANING AND ACQUISITION

Osgood, Suci and Tannenbaum (1957) developed a definition or theory of meaning. The logic utilized in developing the theory is based upon semantical meaning, the relationship between signs (words, pictures) and their significates (objects, events). Educators and psychologists are typically concerned with the process involved in mediating the connections or relationships between signs and significates. The investigation of meaning, therefore, becomes the problem of discerning those conditions which are necessary and sufficient for an environmental event which is not a significate to become a sign of that significate.

Label Meaning

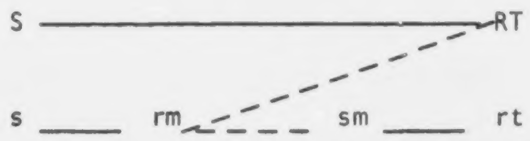
Theories of sign-significate relationships differ in the explanations offered to account for the nature of these relationship processes. For example, meaning may be described as that which consists of unobservable mental events. Significates are physical events, and a sign becomes related to a significate if it elicits the same idea or thought that is attached to the significate. Significates can be measured, but their associations with meaning are not readily subject to analysis since the mediation process which is responsible for the associations is not defined with respect to observable behavior.

Classical conditioning explanation of the sign-significate relationship is formulated from behavior observations. The significate is an unconditioned before-behavior environmental event which elicits meaning. A neutral event, such as a word (label), if it occurs contiguous with the event may become a conditioned event that elicits the same meaning as the unconditioned event. The conditioned event becomes the sign, and therefore acquires the meaning of the significate. "Whenever something which is not the significate evokes in an organism the same reactions evoked by the significate, it is a sign of the significate" (Osgood, Suci, and Tannenbaum 1957, P.5).

Osgood and associates believe that the classical conditioning explanation of meaning is inadequate because it is too simple. They assert that a sign is not capable of producing the same stimulation pattern as its significate. For example, the word "ball" does not produce the same stimulation pattern as does seeing, handling, and throwing a ball. However, the word "ball" can elicit behaviors which are similar and related to those elicited by direct contact with the object, ball. A child upon hearing the word "ball" may make minute finger movements to simulate a grip for a slider. These minuscule movements are related to gross movements made when the ball is actually being fingered. The behavior elicited by signs is similar, but not identical with that elicited by objects or significates.

Even though the classical conditioning definition of meaning is thought to be overly simplified, Osgood et al. believe that a partial solution to the problem is provided: "Whenever some stimulus other than the significate is contiguous with the significate, it will acquire an increment of association with some portion of the total behavior elicited by the significate as a representational mediation process" (p.6).

The representational mediation process for the development of a sign is displayed in the following diagram:



It is assumed that a significate (S), such as an object "ball", will elicit complex behavior (RT) which includes autonomic and skeletal responses. For instance, a child might experience pleasure from physical contact with a ball and may also attempt to throw or kick it. When another stimulus, such as the word "ball," occurs contiguous with the presence of the significate (S), it becomes a sign (s). The sign if conditioned to a portion of the total behavior pattern which the significate elicits. A sign elicits behavior through activation of a representational mediation process (rm---sm). The process is representational (rm) because it is a portion of the identical behavior the significate elicits. It is mediational because self-stimulation (sm) is produced and can elicit a variety of responses (rt). Meanings of concepts, objects, words, pictures, etc. are conveyed by the representational mediation process. "Words represent things because they produce in human organisms some replica of the actual behavior toward these things, as a mediation process" (Osgood, Suci, and Tannenbaum 1957, p.7).

Label Acquisition

The importance of acquiring labels as a crucial aspect of developmental learning and self-control of behavior has been recognized and documented (Allpert 1955; Luria 1961; Piaget 1963; Skinner 1957). Essentially, the use of labels enables children to progress from interaction with a relatively undifferentiated environment to one in which rather exact discriminations and differential behavior responses are required for successful coping with impinging events.

Labeling is a behavior that may be defined or described (labeled) as word responses under the control of before-behavior and after-behavior environmental events (Staats 1968). A child who says "mama" for the first time in the presence of an adult usually receives a great deal of social attention in the form of physical contact and verbal expressions of encouragement. Such after-behavior will function to enhance the probability of the child saying "mama" again in the same or similar situation. In time, a child learns to discriminate between various before-environmental events, and will then say "mama" in the presence of mother and not when another female is present. This type of systematic approximation promotes the acquisition of finite discrimination of before-events, and specific differential word responses (labeling) that occur in the presence of such before-events. When the labeling occurs under the control of specific before-events, that behavior is usually followed by the presentation of an after-event that functions to increase use of the label in subsequent situations. Other labels such as "car," "dog," plus complete word sequences, are learned in the same manner. With continued learning experiences a child develops a lengthy and complex labeling repertoire.

It is important to discern that the acquisition of labels does not progress in isolation from development of meaning attached to labels. That is, both processes occur and are expanded concurrently. Inherent in the process involved with the development of meaning is cognitive development.

> The quality, extent, and precision of the individual's speech repertoire with respect to labeling objects and events is of great importance in cognitive development. Such training is important for the scientist . . . Thus one aspect of becoming expert in a particular field is the acquisition of appropriate vocal responses to the objects or events with which the field is concerned (Staats 1968, pp. 73-74).

Contact or experience with the environmental impinges upon several sensory channels. Label meaning not only includes sensory reactions to intensity, color, and shapes, but also includes an awareness of the nature or identity of impinging environmental events. Components of meaning are interwoven with sensory stimuli as individuals experience contacts with people, objects, and situations. For example, a child's cry can be registered upon auditory receptors, but the meaning of that cry is perceived by the mother in relation to past episodes of pain or deprivation which the child has experienced. A stranger who heard the child cry could correctly label the behavior as crying, a topographical description. However, to the mother the perceived topography of the cry has meaning, a vital functional part of the behavior which is labeled crying.

Staats (1968) believes that labels acquire meaning as a function of environmental factors present when labels are attached to individuals, objects, or events. Environmental before-behavior events can evoke sensory responses or mental images in an individual. These images can be associated with labels or words. To Staats, the sensory responses or images associated with the label provide meaning to thelabel. For instance, if a young child has been scratched and bitten by a cat, and this episode elicited terror or sustained crying, any situation that evokes an image of that particular environmental experience such as the word "cat" may result in actual crying, and possible a label phrase such as "bad cat." In this case, the labeling phrase used to describe a furry, four-legged animal with a tail is evoked and controlled by images associated with a previous encounter with a cat. Pain that is experienced as a result of a visit to a dentist would probably function to elicit labels that represent verbal and, in some instances, physical avoidance responses. Similarly, a positive experience associated with visiting a park would elicit approach labels such as "fun-swing," and physical tugging at mother's coat to move in the direction of the park. Therefore, labels that are used to describe environmental events also convey meaning, positive or negative, about those events.

A child may also learn to attach meaning to a label without any previous experience with the event associated with the label. Children, for example, as a function of watching TV, assign meanings to the label "Indian" without ever having experienced an encounter with an Indian. To children, the label "Indian" may mean a partially dressed, brown skinned person who kills white people with arrows or stolen army rifles. It would probably take several positive interactions with an Indian before erroneous meanings could be corrected and transformed into correct ones.

It is also important to recognize that children and adults can learn labels and meaning from experiencing or learning verbalizations uttered by others. The label and meaning acquired through direct or indirect contact with the specific environment event may be accurate or inaccurate, positive or negative. In both instances, however, the acquisition of a label and its meaning is through an identical process. Even though discrimination is important for learning labels and the complex behaviors labeled "labeling," the process of generalization may also be in operation. One negative experience, or hearing another individual describe a negative experience, with an individual may elicit a derogatory or stigma label which is then generalized to all similar individuals. If the experience is positive, the label may be one of status and this in turn is generalized to all similar individuals. The acquisition of labels and meanings requires fine discriminations, but their application to people, objects and events may not be differential and may, in fact, be quite general. That is, discrimination represents only one aspect of learning to use labels. Differential responses based upon specific discriminations are equally as important in learning the correct usage of labeling behavior.

It is generally recognized that without an extensive, complex labeling repertoire children will encounter difficulty in learning to read, spell, write, solve arithmetic problems, and relate successfully to the total learning environment. Labeling skill is not only important for cognitive development, but is also directly associated with success in school-related activities. Apparently, verbal ability, which includes labeling, is also an important component for measuring teacher effectiveness in promoting pupil achievement. High teacher verbal ability appears to be significantly related to high pupil successful academic achievement (Office of Education 1970). Perhaps teachers who are skilled in conveying effective discriminative and differential use of labels enable pupils to acquire behaviors which insure high scores on academic achievement tests. It is not difficult to associate successful reading behavior with a positive approach reaction to the label "reading," nor is it difficult to visualize a child failing in school, physically avoiding the school building or any verbal (label) reference to school. Labels such as "reading" and "history" can elicit negative meanings and avoidance behaviors if a child fails in school, or such labels can also elicit positive meaning and approach behaviors if a child succeeds in school. The process is redundant, circular, and self-sustaining. A comprehensive labeling repertoire increases the probability of academic achievement which in turn stimulates further development of labeling behaviors. Encompassed within this success system are many labels that reflect the positive value of the cycle, but very few that reflect the negative value because debilitating experiences are more rare than positive transactions within the learning environment.

USES AND MISUSES OF LABELING

It is important to be cognizant that labels, or definitions, may serve as guidelines or stimuli which are thought to be functionally related to subsequent behaviors (Whelan and Gallagher 1968). Given an exact label, it is reasonable to assume that this will prescribe certain procedures when interaction occurs with the object or person labeled. Unfortunately, labels are usually not that precise, nor have they directed exact or effective educational procedures.

In the continuing divergent discussions regarding treatment efficacy, the point is humorously conveyed by Eysenck (1961) who cites Raimy's definition of psychotherapy, a label, as "an unidentified technique applied to unspecified problems with unpredictable outcomes. For this technique we recommend rigorous training" (Eysenck 1961, p. 697). While adherents of psychotherapy intervention for children usually describe procedures more exactly, the quotation does emphasize the problems which can be encountered when excessive reliance is placed on labels that convey vague or imprecise meanings. In essence, lables should serve to guide and assist individuals who are assigned to promote behavior change and more successful adjustment of children. For example, educationally relevant descriptions, definitions, or labels of children with behavior disorders are provided by several sources (Bower 1960; Haring and Phillips 1962; Pate 1963). Such labels do have relevance, but do not stand independently in terms of automatically conveying behavior change procedures. That is, the labels provide convenience in circumscribing an issue, but do not add specific knowledge relevant to methodology to resolve the issue. Further investigation beyond the labeling process is required to ascertain various behavior change methods which can be used in interaction with subjects so labeled. The label does not prescribe the specific behavior change procedures. In fact, it is possible to obtain convergence about a label meaning and then discover divergent descriptions of proposed effective behavior change methodology. The coexistence of different methods to solve similar problems ensconced by a label should be recognized.

Problems with Labels

Labels are not positive or negative in isolation from other variables. They are selected by individuals who may use them inappropriately or appropriately. An inappropriate use is exemplified by the unrecognized effects of the reification process. Reification is a three step process which is as follows:

1. A label is given to a single behavior or a list of behaviors.
2. The label may then be considered to represent the behavior or behaviors.
3. Eventually, the label is used to explain the occurrence of the behavior or behaviors.

A specific example will clarify the circularity of the reification process. Children are referred for diagnostic evaluations and behavior change planning to the Children's Rehabilitation Unit, University of Kansas Medical Center. One child may exhibit all of the classical behaviors associated with the label "autistic" (Kanner 1943; Rimland 1964). After diagnostic data are accumulated, a psychiatric diagnosis of autism may be confirmed. Step one of the reification process has been completed. At this reference point, the use of the label does not have deleterious effects. However, steps two and three will take place unless awareness of possible misuse of the label is insured. The diagnosed child may be placed in a preschool intervention program which is designed to foster more adaptive behavior in the school and home. Since the school program is experimental as well as service and training oriented, various professional visitors request to observe the program. Reification occurs, and the cycle is completed, when the visitor is told that the behavior being observed is caused because the child is "autistic." The label has been used to explain the behavior; steps two and three have been completed.

Labels should be used as brief communication devices. A single word may be used to describe the presence of a syndrome or list of behaviors. However, agreement should exist among those individuals who select to use a label as to what specific behaviors are included within the rubric of the label. If a visitor uses the label "autistic," it behooves others to ask what behaviors must be exhibited before the label is assigned. Essential disagreement may become apparent, and must be resolved before there is functional commonality in the use of a label. Labels are used appropriately to describe behavior, and used inappropriately to explain behavior.

Perhaps the most misused information is that obtained from a variety of tests which are designed to measure intellectual ability. There are many reasons for using such tests (Cronbach 1960), but in school related activities three supposedly functional uses are made of test scores. IQ is used (a) for evaluating effects of previously completed programs designed to evoke gain scores, (b) for establishing current functioning level in order to predict future rate of gain or growth, and (c) for making administrative decisions regarding educational placement of children who obtain an IQ within a range of scores. It is apparent that the probability of error can be quite high at any one or all of the three step uses. However, it is necessary to recognize that test (IQ) scores are behavior samples that are obtained at a specific time, place, and in the context of complex human-environmental interactions. The directions for administering a test, and the score subsequently obtained are essentially neutral phenomena. It is only when scores, which may be correct or erroneous, are used to make decisions regarding children that negative or positive results can occur. A child who obtains an IQ of sixty-five may be assigned to an educational delivery system labeled as "mentally retarded" on the basis of that numerical score. Unfortunately, the single score may be used for an administrative decision, and variability within the test may not be recognized or considered. Using a single score may result in inappropriate and damaging placement if the child is much more capable than the score indicates. In addition, the score that caused the label to be applied may now be used to explain rather than describe observed behaviors. The process is as follows: The child was referred for a problem; an IQ of sixty-five was recorded and filed; an administrative decision for educational grouping labeled "mentally retarded" was implemented; the child has a problem and an IQ of sixty-five because he is "mentally retarded." Even though the child's behavior may change over time, and subsequent intellectual ability scores increase, the label "mentally retarded" may never be discarded.

Functional Labels

In the previous section it was noted that labels should suggest or prescribe remediation and corrective behavior change procedures. Exact specificity for each problem encountered in each child is probably not possible at this time. If it were, parents, aides, teachers, and others would only have to refer to an electronic type of "trouble-shooting manual," find the specific "trouble," and then implement the "repair." All of this implies that the nature or current status of the individual child is not considered, and that the behavior change process is automatic. While this may be a comfortable state for individuals who seek simplicity in decisions regarding procedures for changing behavior, it is deceptively simple. It is possible to apply known behavior principles to a problem, but the principles merely serve as guidelines for determining specific behavior change techniques that are functionally related to the problem and the child who exhibits it. Behavior principles form the guidelines for behavior change procedures, but the exact techniques are applied on the basis of individual child needs. It is important within this context to realize that behavior principles are few in number and are easily understood and verbalized, but that the application to children can be quite complex, especially in requirements for careful, systematic planning of child-teacher-environmental interactions.

Present knowledge does allow some specificity in connecting labels to behavior change procedures. For example, children with behavior disorders (social and academic) are often labeled "emotionally disturbed." The term "emotional" has a plethora of meanings, but perhaps the mostfunctional one is evaluations placed upon experiences (Phillips, Wiener, and Haring 1960). Intra-individual and interindividual responses which are labeled "emotional" are probably responses to present situations or situations which are similar to painful or pleasurable past encounters. A child who completes a reading assignment successfully and receives recognition from parents and teacher will probably display emotions which are described or labeled as positive. If the child fails in reading, and is punished or harshly reprimanded, behaviors of a negative nature may occur. The child may avoid future efforts, or may attempt to escape from a reading lesson by getting out of his seat and verbalizing a physical complaint.

Using the example of children labeled "emotionally disturbed," it is proposed that the terms "emotional" and "disturbance" provide a functional method of connecting, in a general manner, a definition with subsequent programs of behavior change. The E in "emotional" represents behavior excesses; D in "disturbance" represents behavior deficits. Children with behavior disorders can be characterized by excesses and deficits. They display some behaviors which parents, teachers, and peers would like to reduce or delete: excesses. They do not display some other behaviors or do not have them in their repertoire at a level commensurate with expected behavioral performance: deficits.

The effective teacher of children with behavior disorders is proficient in identifying and selecting behavior excesses and deficits that interfere with children's progress in school. Excesses and deficits are circumscribed as exactly and discretely as possible. A brief case description will convey the importance of this aspect. A child in a special education class was described as introverted and withdrawn. This may be considered a deficit in social behavior or social interaction. It was decided to obtain more exact information pertaining to the degree of withdrawn behavior. Through direct observation of the child, it was determined that over a period of 120 hours of observation (24 school days) only seven child-initiated social contacts occurred (Gallagher 1968). The degree of withdrawn behavior was systematically defined, observed, and recorded. The behavior deficit was precisely delineated, and the teacher recognized a very discrete and observable behavior which could be changed by effective application of behavior principles. It would have been extremely difficult for the teacher to change withdrawn behavior without the exactitude with which the labels "introverted" and "withdrawn" were translated into quite observable deficits. Knowing this information, the teacher instituted a behavior change program designed to increase the frequency of appropriate social contacts. The behavior change program was in effect for twenty-two days. During the last eleven days of the program the number of appropriate social contacts ranged from five to ten a day. An after-behavior change program check revealed that the child was maintaining six to ten social contacts a day (Gallagher 1968).

The withdrawn child, with the assistance of a behavior change program, developed social behaviors to a level that was self-enhancing. Social contact was no longer a deficit behavior. The behaviors were acquired during the behavior change program. During the behavior acquisition segment, natural environmental events which normally maintain an adequate frequency of social contacts were paired with the synthetic environmental events implemented as a part of the behavior change program. When the program was discontinued, natural environmental events were sufficient to maintain an adequate level of social contacts. The sequence of planning for this child included a functional definition and delineation of a previously labeled behavior deficit; designing a behavior change program to reduce the deficit; and determining if the behavior would be maintained after the program was terminated.

This brief description of a single case serves to indicate the method by which a behavior label, if described specifically, can be closely linked with the objectives and procedures implemented to change the described behavior. Labels can be an important initial portion of the teacher-child-environmental interaction. However, they must be functionally related to subsequent planning of the interaction process; i.e., labels can be used to describe behavior carefully, but should not be used as a functional explanation of observed behavior.

CHALLENGES TO CURRENT EDUCATIONAL PRACTICES AND LABELING

Labels are used by individuals and organizations to describe, discriminate, and bring order to activities designed to reach general or specific goals. Labels and the process of labeling are necessary for brief communication and classification behaviors between and among individuals, or organizations of individuals. School systems have developed a lengthy list of labels that are purported to maximize attainment of democratic educational goals and philosophy. In many instances labels are used correctly and can contribute to beneficial educational practices. However, in other instances school systems misuse labels as explanatory devices or as justification for past nonfunctional policies which have not enabled children to experience positive educational progress. Current educational practices and labels that accompany these practices are being challenged not only from within the school system, but also by organizations not directly connected with stipulating educational policies and practices. One challenge to the present use of labels and educational practices emanates from the judicial system. Information contained in this section pertains to a brief description of child-based educational challenges for quality learning environments, and the need for educators to devise strategies for meeting these challenges successfully. The rest of the section describes the relationships between the school and the judicial system, and how this relationship has been used to challenge some inappropriate educational practices that are based on and related to the misuse of labels.

School and its representatives, teachers, are often the first community agents to establish contact with children. When children leave home and spend a significant portion of the day in school, they are expected to accomplish three objectives:

1. Leave the protective milieu of the home and venture into relatively unknown, uncertain areas of expectations for behavioral performances.
2. Establish appropriate interpersonal relationships with peers and adults in various authority figure roles.
3. Acquire and accumulate skills and knowledge which will culminate in behaviors that are necessary for becoming a contributing member of society.

Children are expected to change from various stages of dependent, unsocialized, self-centered behavior to points upon the behavior continuum which represent degrees of independent, socialized, and group-centered behavior (Whelan 1966). Meeting these objectives requires investment and commitment from children and teachers. The business of children is school in which learning and growth must progressively occur. The business of teachers is to prepare the classroom environment in such a manner that when children interact with it, learning and growth represent the culminating results.

It must be recognized that teaching is a continuous challenge which involves development, change and evaluation. As such, a finalization of the teaching process is never reached. The educational challenge is concerned with continuous teaching improvement and searching for procedures which will enhance teaching effectiveness.

Instructional technology (Skinner 1968) has and will continue to be coexistent with classroom interactions and transactions. Part of the educational challenge is concerned with more systematic application of known and existent technology in classrooms for children with behavior disorders. That is, how can teachers learn and apply existing knowledge in a manner which will promote effective teaching as measured by teacher and child continuous progress? While there is a serious lag between identified effective teaching procedures and their application in classrooms, a more serious problem is also apparent. A myriad of procedures can be described which will enhance learning, but such procedures are selected and applied by individuals. Awareness of procedures does not guarantee subsequent application, nor does it automatically assume that procedures will be applied correctly and systematically. Application of effective teaching procedures is a function of individuals who have the capability for error as well as accuracy.

Effective teaching involves understanding of several central behavior concepts, various behavior change procedures, and finally, correct application of concepts and procedures in classroom environments. When application occurs, concurrent evaluation is possible. Application and evaluation will result in further improvement of teaching and should function to reduce the gap between discovery and implementation. That is, information pertaining to more effective teaching methodology could emanate from the same situation where it will be subsequently applied. Discovery of new procedures can and should take place in classrooms where child-teacher-environment interaction naturally occur on an hourly, daily, and weekly basis.

The educational challenge can be clearly delineated. In view of the complexity of educational objectives, expectations for child performance in school related tasks, and selecting effective teaching procedure, it is not difficult to discern possible debilitating child-teacher-environment interactions which can affect children with behavior disorders. Educators must plan the environment to promote positive results from such interactions.

The preceding statements represent somewhat ideal goals which many educators are committed to attain. That commitment has been continuous for many years, and is exemplified by John Dewey, probably one historical individual who would be labeled a "radical educator" at the present time. Other examples pertaining to implementing relevant educational practices are described in the writings of Harper (1962), Gallagher (1970), Jackson (1958), Johnson (1969), and Manning (1971). Entire issues of magazines have been devoted to problems associated with current educational practices (Saturday Review, 1970), and to the insistent plea that individuals who are identified with educational practices must evaluate and be accountable for such practices (Phi Delta Kappan, 1970). New designs for professional training of teachers, and delivery of relevant learning opportunities for children are currently in operation and are also in the process of evaluation (McKenzie, Egner, Knight, Perelman, Schneider, and Garvin 1970). The necessity for new approaches, retaining what is appropriate from past procedures, and for implementing systematically what is already demonstrated to be effective not only reflects concern of intra-educational agencies, but represents a demand from educational service consumers, and from that large segment of the population labeled as the "lay public." Even more important in considerations regarding educational practices are the children, the captive audience that are required by law to attend educational institutions in which they are "exposed to, instructed to, done to, and done for" all within the humanistic general goal of preparing them for "participation in a democratic society."

The Law and Education

The Constitution of the United States does not provide for the establishment of a national, regional, or local school system. Under the provisions of the Tenth Amendment to the Constitution, powers to establish provisions for educating children have been assumed by states and local agencies. However, the federal government has been involved in educational practices through the formation of land grant colleges, and the financial support for research, training, demonstration and service activities that exist in public educational institutions. Such support also includes children labeled as "exceptional" and programs for them labeled as "special education."

Even though federal involvement in education has existed for many years, the primary responsibility for providing education resides with the various states. Local school districts have some freedom in developing education policy and practice, but for the most part local agencies must adhere to and implement state-level policies and plans. Within the various states, education and other services for exceptional children have been planned and implemented. Institutional programs were established at first, but in time state legislation also provided direction and stimulation for public schools to include programs for exceptional children.

In actions involving the judiciary and education, court decisions affecting educational practices have been based on the Fifth and Fourteenth Amendments and applicable state statutes. It is possible for schools to legally exclude children from regular public schools, but it is also recognized that the responsibility for providing educational services for excluded children does not cease to exist. However, the form and manner in which "special" services are implemented are questionable in quality and legality. Nolte (1969) presents basic legal responsibilities which currently govern educational practices of schools and should be used by all educators as a resource guide, but not as a substitute for expert legal guidance.

Legal decisions emanating from more recent cases have a direct impact upon educational services for exceptional children. Brown v. Board of Education of the City of Topeka (Nolte 1969) stipulated that schools must not segregate children on the basis of race. In re Gault (Nolte 1969) it was declared that juvenile could not be deprived of individual rights simply because adult status had not been achieved. The Gault case is extremely important in that the intent was to provide treatment for an individual who had encountered problems in coping with school and general societal expectations. However, even though the intent was humanistic and positive, Gault had been denied rights of appeal, a copy of written charges, and other rights guaranteed by the due process clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. Therefore, benevolent purposes for establishing general or special education policies are not a rationale for circumvention or disregard of human rights guaranteed by the Bill of Rights, the United States Constitution, or laws established in support of these documents. Growing recognition of this relationship has been documented by pleas for quality educational services in urban centers (Johnson 1969), and planning for development of a Child Advocate system to insure that children can be guaranteed rights and privileges established by the Constitution.

The Law and Special Education

Judicial review and decisions regarding educational practices for all children, and specifically those involved with children labeled "exceptional," have implications for educational planning, changing current practices, and developing new methods to deliver educational services. In Hobson v. Hansen (1967) the United States District Court, District of Columbia, declared among other things that the track system in the schools of the District must be abolished, that school activities and pupil placement must not function to discriminate among children on the basis of racial or economic status, that optional attendance zones must not be used to maintain segregated schools, and that school faculty must be integrated fully.

The District Court in the Hobson v. Hansen decision held that the school system had unconstitutionally deprived black and economically poor school age pupils of the right to experience educational services equal to those provided for white and economically affluent children. While the school authorities verbally supported the demise of de jure segregation, the educational system functioned to maintain de facto segregation. That is, even though the educational system was purported to be organized in such a manner that quality learning opportunities were provided for all children, the court held that in actual fact the organization functioned to deny black and poor children the opportunity to participate in educational activities that could operate to enable development of optimal learning capabilities. As was true in the Gault decision, positive intent or motivation to provide quality services for children is not enough. The court found that a significant discrepancy existed between intent and actual practice. In the verbal reponse of a child to a teacher who was delivering a lecture on what was to happen if certain behavior did not occur, "I believe what I see, not what I hear." This was the essence of the court's decision, and the school system was instructed to file procedures for remedy of unequal, segregated educational services.

Specific aspects of Hobson v.Hansen have implications for exceptional children and educators charged with the responsibility of providing educational programs for them. One aspect involves pupil assignment to a Special Academic (Basic) Track. "In general, the criteria for . . . placement are inability to keep up with normal curriculum, emotionally disturbed behavior, an IQ of 75 or below, and substandard performance on achievement tests" (Hobson v.

Hansen 1967, p.448). Children assigned to this track even though the offical label did not so designate, were probably labeled at various times and by various educators as "mentally retarded," "emotionally disturbed", and "learning disabled." Since these labels may imply negative meaning and lack of hope for improvement, it is not difficult to imagine that they also functioned to influence behavior performance expectations. That is, since a child is "mentally retarded," only so much can be expected (Rosenthal and Jacobson 1968). That labels probably functioned in this manner is documented by the court's finding that very few children moved from one track to another even though flexible provision for this type of movement was supposedly a crucial component of the track system. Even more important was the fact that this particular track consisted of a disproportionate number of black and economically disadvantaged children. In addition, the court found that even though lower tracks were designed for compensatory or remedial education, they operated to provide less educational opportunity, and did not provide learning experiences designed to move children to higher levels of educational competence.

Even though there were no apparent automatic procedures that would initiate track crossing and pupils when consigned to a special track did not often move to another level, the court declared that an equivalent debilitating practice was the process used to assign students to tracks. Essentially, assignment to specific tracks was based on test scores (IQ and achievement) and teacher estimation of pupil potential. Test scores were obtained mainly from group administration of verbally-oriented paper and pencil assessment devices. The court did not stipulate that testing should not be utilized to place children in the most beneficial learning environment. However, it did say that a test used for placement purposes must not penalize children on the basis of economic or language differences, or on the basis of test standardization procedures which did not include a proportionate sample of those children for whom test scores are used for educational placement decisions. It was pointed out by the court that the tests used by the school system were highly verbal in nature, and as such penalized children who were not exposed to language patterns measured by a single administration of a group test. Further evidence pertaining to gross mismanagement of pupil placement based on test scores, and erroneous interpretation of such scores, was expressed in the court's finding that when individual assessment of competency was administered, two-thirds of the children identified with the "mentally retarded" track actually met the criteria for placement in a higher-functioning track. In response to the defense that variation in test scores can be expected, the court declared that children must not be exposed to such risk or high probability of error when they are assigned to a learning situation.

The court decision in Hobson v. Hansen emphasized that educators must not only verbalize intent to provide quality education, but must also demonstrate that efforts to realize intents are operational and that all children have an equal opportunity to benefit from efforts regardless of color or economic differences. However, as might be anticipated, Hobson v. Hansen has not been unchallenged. In the case of Conley et al. v. Lake Charles School Board (1969), the United States District Court for the Western District of Louisiana was critical of Hobson v. Hansen and cited Harvard, Stanford, and University of Chicago law review articles to emphasize the validity of that criticism. Essentially, the court asserted that judicial interference with school board decisions was beyond the realm of judicial competence. This particular case did not involve testing, but was concerned with school integration plans. The court declared that only school boards and the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare possessed the expertise to solve such problems, and cited criticism of Hobson v. Hansen to provide credence for the stand against judicial interference in school related instructional practices.

It is necessary to note that the court in Hobson v. Hansen expressed regret in deciding a case involved with educational practices since these issues were beyond judicial competence. However, important aspects seem to have been neglected in critical analyses for the decision. First, the court insisted that its role in the protection of constitutional rights provided justification for judicial action. When educational practices, e.g. testing, discriminate on factors other than the fundamental basis for such practices, constitutional rights are violated and such practices cannot be condoned. In addition, positive regard or intent to provide equal educational opportunities must not be discrepant with observed educational practices. Second, the court did not disconfirm the rationale for appropriate testing and pupil grouping practices. It stipulated that such practices must not function to violate constitutional rights and the expectation that all children should have equal opportunity to participate in all educational services provided by a school system. In essence the court questioned, with valid reason, the competence of educators to apply correctly those educational services which are known to promote learning and positive self-regard in children.

Educators must be constantly alert to abuses that can evolve from testing programs designed to evaluate and differentially group children. Purposes of a testing program should be sharply delineated and conducted only by competent personnel. Just as important, test score usage must benefit children and not be subverted for a justification of erroneous administrative practices. That is, testing, test scores, etc. are neutral in content. Individuals use, interpret, and apply test data, and as such have the inherent capacity to make damaging errors or quite accurate decisions.

An example of the gross misuse of test scores is contained in the allegations made by plaintiffs in Diana v. State Board of Education (1970). English language tests had been administered to Spanish-speaking children, and on the basis of the false score obtained, these children were placed in special classes and labeled as "mentally retarded." It was also declared that an inordinate number of Spanish-speaking children were erroneously assigned to special classes, and that his administrative placement violated the right to receive equal educational or learning opportunities. When nine children labeled as "mentally retarded" by the English test version were given a bilingual test, seven scored above the level required for special class placement. If the allegations were correct, this case illustrates the deleterious use of testing procedures. The competence of the test administrator, and the capability of the individual who decides educational placement on the basis of biased test scores must be doubted and questioned. If school officials cannot correct such deficiencies within the system, then criticisms of judicial interference have no basis in fact or legal theory. Accountability for individual or group actions, particularly in relation to what is done to children in educational environments, must be the concern of educators and all segments of society. This commitment must be ubiquitous for all children be they black, Mexican-American, Indian, white, or members of any ethnic group.

The cases cited function to illustrate the problems involved in providing quality educational services to children. They operate as an evaluative mirror that educators, including special educators, must use to question and assess educational practices applied to and for children. It is apparent, even from a brief review of the cited cases plus review of other cases before the courts, that labels can convey positive or negative meanings, and more importantly can mask debilitating learning experience under the guise of a label that purports to provide what is relevant education for children.

REFLECTIONS UPON LABELING

This document illustrates some of the problems and issues associated with the process of labeling and educational practices that are identified with that process or a specific label. Except for a brief explanation of one way in which labels could function to foster children's development, specific recommendations for alternative solutions have not been posited. Brief citations of recent publications by general educators and special educators indicate concern and activities to form relevant changes in the educational system. If continued beneficial progress is to be made, it behooves educators to be aware of and use their constituency: children, parents, professional colleagues, legal profession colleagues, and others.

Instituting changes for progress in educational practices must be accompanied by a level of concern for relevance equal to that expressed by the courts and competent educators. The content presented in this document essentially conveys a description of "what not to do," but present and subsequent planning should emphasize the "what to do" if the very laudable objectives of maximum learning opportunity for children is to be attained. In this process, educators must be aware of past endeavors, since it is only through such awareness that prior mismanagement procedures can be discarded.

Perhaps no more eloquent description of the negative effects of labels can be procured outside the education profession than that included in Hobson v. Hansen:

> Tracks can become pejorative labels, symptomatic of which is the recent abandonment of the suggestive 'Basic' for the more euphemistic 'Special Academic' as the nomenclature of the lowest track. And even if a student may be unaware of labels, he cannot ignore the physical fact of being separated from his fellow students (Hobson v. Hansen 1967, p. 493).

This statement succinctly describes the inherent danger in affixing a label, and also the possibility of implementing inferior educational practices under the rubric of the label. Assigning a label based upon a testing procedure does not guarantee that apparent deficient capabilities are essentially true or correct. The correctness or validity of the label has to be demonstrated, as was indicated in the Hobson v. Hansen decision. Labels, teaching methods, behavior change procedures, behavior intervention, administrative educational service delivery systems, even though previously demonstrated to be effective for assisting children learn, are applied by individuals. It is individuals who (a) state objectives, (b) devise experiences to attain stated objectives, and (c) hopefully, continuously evaluate the effectiveness of the experiences. Obviously, unconcern and imcomptence can intervene at any or all phases of the three-step process. To implement the process, dedicated, invested, competent, and humanistic educators are needed, and most of all are needed at the level of teacher-child interactions. The label "emotionally disturbed" does not prescribe what a teacher must initiate to assist a child, but if that label can be transformed into a functional program, such as the one described for the "withdrawn child" in the section devoted to functional labels, children can benefit.

It is not difficult to recognize that one solution advanced to counteract the negative meaning associated with presently used labels such as "schizophrenia," "special class" and "trainable mentally retarded" is to merely change the label. There may be some temporary merit in this substitution, and indeed this behavior is already apparent in eduational dialogue. At the present time, for example, the label "resource room" is being suggested as an alternative for the stigma associated with the label "special class." However, when it is discovered that one group of children spends five hours a day in a "resource room," it is difficult to discern the difference between that administrative system and the special class. For a time, a new label may operate to remove derogatory or depreciatory meaning, but unless the process and content change within the context of the new label, it too will eventually be associated with less than adequate merit or status. Changing a label without actually changing teacher-pupil interaction procedures is not only a misnomer, but it is also unproductive and basically debilitating.

Another solution to the problem of labeling and placement of children for specific services is represented by assertions that "special education" classes should be discarded. Unfortunately, adherents to this solution fail to recognize the need for a continuum of efficient services for those children who need them. It is vital that educators discriminate between the validity of a service model and the quite visible misapplication of that model. Again, procedural implementation is a function of individuals who are capable of error or accuracy. Evaluation of models and the individuals who implement the models are two distinct but interrelated processes. The crucial aspect, since it involves the most important element in the educational process, children, is in what manner need for services is established, and how these services are provided in actual day-to-day learning transactions.

Indeed, the plea for dissolution of special class groups may conflict with consumer demands. In Stewart v. Phillips (1970), the plaintiffs alleged that the Boston school system was discriminating against children by placing them in classes labeled "mentally retarded." The demand was not to move children to regular classes or resource rooms, but to establish classes that could more appropriately meet specific educational service requirements. In fact, it was to establish services for children who are crippled, blind, deaf, and "emotionally disturbed." This case, plus the general problems associated with labeling reflects a basic issue. Educators are not satisfied that present labels accurately describe what is currently believed to be effective education since these labels are identified with known ineffective educational techniques. Therefore, the problem resides in the process of finding a description that accurately reflects positive values and that is truly representative of organizationally far ranging educational practices that benefit children.

It is also apparent that special education service must cease to be a shunt for the failures of general education (Johnson 1969). Rather than attempt to promote remedial or compensatory education for children who have failed for three analysis has been described. Incorrect interpretation and reliance on test scores without deliberations regarding conditions functionally related to the observed scores have been demonstrated to have negative effects upon the educational development of children. Correct use and interpretation of evaluation devices are mandatory competencies. Educators should not condone anything less than demonstrated competencies in the areas of assessment and organized learning environments.

Individuals who are skilled in assessing or evaluating educational progress or capability are usually aware that motivation to perform well is a crucial variable that affects obtained test scores. However, only a few attempts have been made to manipulate or measure motivational variable effects. Zigler and Butterfield (1968) found that urban children who tested quite low on standard administration of a verbal intelligence test attained close to the normal range when the test was administered under highly motivating conditions. Children who attended nursery school for an academic year made an average gain of 7.2 points between pre- and post-standardized administrations of the test. The gain between pre- and post-motivational administrations was 1.2 points. It was concluded that low initial test scores on standardized administration is frequently due to poor motivational incentives. Higher standardized administration test scores after an intervention program essentially reflect attainment of motivational behaviors as evidenced by small differences between pre- and post-test scores obtained with motivational administration conditions. This finding is not interpreted to imply that tests measure only motivational variables. In fact for children who did not have the benefit of a nursery school experience, there was a loss of 5.1 points between pre- and post-motivational test administrations. Zigler and Butterfield confirmed the findings of Hobson v. Hansen in regard to the negative effects of environmental conditions, but of equal importance, they reported that motivational variables years, educators should admit that the learning experiences provided have not been effective in developing reading, writing, language, and arithmetic skills. Of necessity, this recognition must not occur after a lapse of three years. What is needed from the very beginning of first grade, and much sooner than that if the schools become more involved with young children, are precisely developed and specific behavioral objectives. These objectives should be determined by effective communication and concerted efforts between school personnel and the consumers of educational services, children and parents. In this manner polemic debate over "black values," "white values," "lower economic values," and "higher economic values" would become more productive and goal-oriented. For example, it is not impossible to perceive teachers and parents meeting together to establish goals that are important for children to attain and values that are necessary for them to acquire. Probably there would be a great deal of agreement or overlap on behaviors or competencies to be acquired, e.g. reading skill, arithmetic skill, socialization competence, interpersonal interaction styles, divergent thinking, and convergent thinking. In addition black parents should realistically require that their children be competent in knowledge pertaining to historical cultural heritage and present life style, just as a "gandy dancer" Irish parent would desire his child to know of Irish contributions to American culture and society.

The criticism that teachers are trying to cram "white middle-class values" into the life styles of black inner city children is only a surface part of the total problem. Unfortunately, the rhetoric rarely gets beyond that point. It is difficult to specifically list these values, but it is definitely necessary, just as it is necessary to list values of other ethnic or economic groups. Points of agreement could be included in educational practices, and differential activities could be provided for children with different requirements.

The problem, in essence, is that "white middle-class" teachers fail to understand that many children have not had the prior experiences that would enable them to succeed in meeting certain expectations for performance, and not that the goals or values are morally wrong. First of all, any teacher should recognize that a child cannot emit complex behaviors when he has not experienced prior preparation that insures successful performance to criterion. Whether teachers and children are black, white, or brown, this aspect is of continuing fundamental importance. The goals or values may be correct, but the expectations for immediate acquisition of competencies and the experiences provided to attain competencies can be grossly incorrect.

It is often stated that some children, urban and rural poor, are stimuli deprived. One has only to interact with the family unit to find that this condition is not universally true. Stimuli are not lacking, but the stimuli are not those that function to develop skills that some teachers expect when children begin school. The task then becomes one of providing relevant experiences, if there is community agreement, to enable attainment of objectives specified by prior agreements. Levels of expectation for behavior have to be altered, but not downgraded, since most segments of the process for competency development are equally important. This task is as important for the economically affluent but interpersonal relationship-deprived child as it is for the child who experiences other forms of self-esteem deprivation.

Even with the advent of programmed learning, peer teaching, parent volunteers, teaching machines, and computer assisted instruction, the realization of truly individualized learning experiences is still in the future. It is not currently economically feasible to assign a tutor to every child. Given these conditions, it will be necessary to use some type of evaluation or testing program to group children in a manner that assures optimal educational progress. The misuse of global, single test scores as compared with test item or behavior sample can function to obviate a reasonably accurate assessment of intellectual attainment or capability. In fact, children in urban or rural economically disadvantaged environments may not be as intellectually deficient as originally thought. Low test scores reported for these children may be a function of avoiding interaction with test administrator, and not realizing that it is important to perform as well as possible, i.e. to be motivated.

Related to reflections upon labeling is the necessity to be aware of what children verbalize and of how they behave in a variety of situations. Children are probably quite efficient and accurate evaluators of other children and adults. By observing and listening to children, teachers can assess the effectiveness of an instructional program or a circumscribed segment of it. Many public school teachers of young exceptional children can relate stories of children in regular classes being protective and supportive of one child who is labeled "emotionally disturbed," and yet very harsh with another child who has the same label. The point is that children typically base judgments on observed behaviors and not on the basis of an elaborately derived label. It is only when children grow older and have more contact with adults that erroneous generalizations occur on the basis of a label. Even children designated by the same label can make very precise behavior discriminations and describe themselves with their own somewhat functional, descriptive label. In a residential center for children labeled as "seriously emotionally disturbed" it is not uncommon to hear one child say of another: "Boy, I'm not going to hang around that kid; he is really a kook."

It was previously stated that one significant aspect of the labeling problem pertained to actual practice of what are known to be effective eduational procedures. The problem does not pertain to knowing what should be implemented, but in devising organizational structures to deliver what is known to be appropriate.

Recognition that there are correct and relevant approaches for educating children is not a recent innovation and is partially illustrated by the following passage:

> To leave a child wholly to his own inclinations in (school) is as absurd as to send him to take honey from a swarm of angry bees and not expect him to be stung. To supply him with honey, all that he wants, at all times and without exertion to himself, is to clog his taste and destroy his appetite. We must see that he is led to look for the sweet, taught to recognize it when he finds it, and to extract it from the comb. He will enjoy working to get it. On the other hand, he must not be sent where the reward is too difficult to find and secure, lest he become discouraged and cease to work (Sylvester 1909, p.99).

This passage, written at the turn of the century, reflects a historical concern with providing quality educational services for all children. That concern is probably even more visible and responsible for bringing about necessary changes at the present time than sixty years ago. Nothing must interfere with the resolution of this concern and the cooperative establishment of mutually devised educational goals, values, and methodology. Labels can assist educators in this endeavor. However, labels must be the servant of educational activities, and not the master which dictates practices for children. For educators to commit themselves to less than quality education and to defend that which is unequal education in tantamount to irresponsibility, and even more important, results in the neglect of those children who are in need of and deserve the most effective educational program available.

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LABELING: A SPECIAL EDUCATION CRISIS

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The scope of this paper is based upon a predetermined assignment to react to the major presentation on labeling by Dr. Whelan. Reaction is defined as reciprocal or return action, a countertendency that has a retaliatory or responsive effect of stimulation. The reactions contained herein are by nature best described as supplementary, rather than retaliatory. The writer anticipated that this tact of responsiveness would be more stimulating than an approach that was essentially retaliatory or critical in character.

While the definition, uses and misuses, as well as several other crucial issues central to the processes and concerns relative to labeling were quite adequately covered in Whelan and Jackson's (1971) paper, the issue which seems to have recently generated the most public and professional concern for the problem was somewhat "played down."

> In my best judgement, about 60 to 80 percent of the pupils taught by these (special education) teachers are children from low status backgrounds including Afro-Americans, American Indians, Mexicans and Puerto Rican Americans; those from nonstandard English speaking broken, disorganized, and inadequate homes; and children from other than middle-class environments. This expensive proliferation of self-contained special schools and classes raises serious educational and civil rights issues which must be squarely faced. It is my thesis that we must stop labeling these deprived children as mentally retarded. Furthermore, we must stop segregating them by placing them into our allegedly special programs (Dunn 1968, pp. 5 - 6).

The historical basis for the above statement is quite evident in the trail marked by the mutilated shells of bodies of children who died because they fell victim to the misuses of the labeling phenomenon. This history and the substantiating research and court cases need not be recounted here to document this failure of our public school system. Nor can this crime against children be attributed entirely to the processes of labeling. At fault is a much broader social crisis, one that over the years has permitted a disproportionate number of poor and minority status children to be shunted into special education settings that have been more debilitating than habilitating or rehabilitating. Poverty, urbanism and racism coupled with inappropriate diagnostic procedures, inadequate teacher training programs and ineffective teaching techniques and strategies combine to ferment the social crisis which permits the use of labels to place children in special education settings that can best be described as "cold storage" facilities.

The major focus of the supplementary efforts of this paper is a discussion of some of the ethnic considerations which have prompted recent court actions. Educators are now cognizant of the damage done to children of poor and ethnic minority backgrounds who were labeled as either emotionally disturbed or mentally retarded, and placed in special education programs. The writer hopes that this discussion is not just a documentary of the negativism of special education in urban areas, but anticipates that at least one positive alternative can be posited in terms of some of his research efforts.

Ethnic Considerations

The current rash of court cases (Hobson v. Hansen, 1967: Diana v. State Board of Education, 1970; Schwan v. Lansing School Board, 1970; etc.) point to an increased social awareness of the inadequacies of our conceptual model of mental retardation. The public has become aware that we have a label attached to a criteria of classification that is inappropriate for a significant number of urban, poor, minority group children. At question also is the special class as a model of special education for children identified as handicapped. This whole issue has spilled over into a broader social referent in terms of racial isolation in public schools and equality of educational opportunity. Several researchers (Pettigrew 1967; Coleman 1966) have raised serious questions concerning future urban educational policies, while indicating that there has been little effort to resolve the issue of mental retardation as it relates to equality and accessibility to education in urban areas.

There is some indication that there is an association between pathologies and social class (Hollingshead and Redlich 1958: Leigton, et al. 1963; Dohrenwend and Dohrenwend 1969). Those labeled for special education placement may also follow socioeconomic and ethnic lines of distribution (Chenault 1970; Dunn 1968; Mercer 1965). It would not take a very scientific survey of special education, particulary in urban areas, to show that disproportionate numbers of black, Puerto Rican, poor, disadvantaged, culturally different and other minority status children have been labeled as deviant and swell the ranks of those enrolled in special education programs.

From these brief comments it appears that mental retardation and other forms of deviant behavior generate labels created and defined by the rest of society. As Becker (1964) indicated it is often not the manifestations of behavior that cause an individual to be labeled as deviant that are important, but rather the consequence of what others impose upon the individual because of the label.

The differential effects of ethnic membership on mental disorders have not been completely without research support. Thomas Langner and a team of six New York psychiatrists and psychologists conducted a study involving some 2,000 children in New York City. They found that black children are mentally healthier than either white or Puerto Rican children from ages six to nine. But, after age nine the study showed that black children experience a higher rate of mental illness right into their teens while both the white and Puerto Rican youngsters showed improvement.

The Langner study found that children on welfare, regardless of race, had a mental illness rate double that among other children and that a black child on welfare is likely to suffer some mental impairment at an earlier age. For example, of the black children in the cross section group in the six-to-nine year age bracket, nine per cent suffered serious mental illness; for the black children on welfare in the same group, the figure was fourteen per cent. Another finding of the study was that as white and Puerto Rican families move up the economic ladder, the rate of mental illness in their children declines but this is not necessarily true in black families. "One of the most profoundly shocking figures to come out of the studies," the team reported, "shows the black child from six to nine to be fairly healthy from a psychiatric point of view. By his late teens, he has the same risk of being seriously impaired as the average black child on welfare." It was only among the black children, especially in the teenage range, that there was little difference in the rate of mental illness between welfare and non-welfare children.

When the congressional commission on the mental health of children released its report in the spring of 1969, it refused to endorse a minority report which called "white racism" the major cause of mental illness in the country. The findings of Dr. Langner's study add credence to that minority report as the "excessive stress of being black in American Society today was blamed for the increase of mental illness in black teenagers." Dr. Langer noted that "this extreme stress is probably present regardless of black wealth, education or skills." Bluntly, he is saying that on welfare or off, middle class or wealthy, educated or illiterate, black teenagers feel the stress of white racism to an almost equal degree. As these students reach the age of reasoning, the potholes and detours of the course ahead become known. The changes of mental impairment are greatly increased as some twenty-two per cent of the black youngsters fall victim by their middle teens. Roughly one out of four black teenagers suffer serious mental illness. This statistic is truly appalling with the realization that there are about five million blacks from ten to nineteen years of age in the United States today. One million black and four million white mentally ill teenagers in combination present a stupendous task for those concerned with special educational programming for the emotionally disturbed. The gravity of this situation becomes really shocking for those concerned with training personnel to work with these children when an attempt is made to identify an outstanding training program in the country that is preparing people to work at the secondary level. It should be obvious that all emotionally disturbed children are not identified and cured at the elementary level. The program needs are great at this level.

When the special education program needs of these children are viewed, it becomes clear that if there are ethnic considerations to the mental impairment of a child they are of such a nature that it is not the blackness of his skin that causes the difficulty, but it is the societal environment that disvalues dark pigmentation of skin that is the etiological culprit. To this point the beneficiality of mere special education programming must be questioned.

PARENT TUTORING

It becomes evident that the real concerns are not centered around labeling, but the effect that labeling and classification have on children in public school education. In an effort to include some positive suggestions in a discussion that has thus far indicated the negative side of the picture, the writer presents the results of a research project completed last year with Jacob Regal.

For the past several years professionals in special education have been questioning the "specialness" of the discipline. This is similar to the kind of critical self-examination that has been taking place in other people-helper disciplines such as psychiatry and social work.

Psychiatrists have been questioning the cost and effectiveness of their treatment, and social workers have been searching for the social component in their activities.

Some answers to "specialness" may be found with a modification of the traditional research designs for remedial programs. Currently, the most common design for testing an intervention is to determine if children in a diagnostic category benefit in comparison to those special children who do not participate in a program. Such a design does not answer the question of "specialness."

The qualities of special children that are of most concern are those that distinquish them from normal children. Interventions which demonstrate that subjects no longer behave in an identical manner to those who were not treated are of interest but have little therapeutic significance. Unless an intervention can be demonstrated to narrow the gap between atypical and normal children, there is little reason to believe that anything of "specialness" has taken place. The challenge for special education research is to discover programs that will have a uniquely beneficial effect on special groups.

The purpose of this study is to investigate an intervention technique that may have a unique effect on emotionally disturbed children and children from socioeconomically depressed areas. The goal of discovering a form of input that will have a uniquely beneficial effect on an atypical population is the major departure that differentiates this study from most intervention studies.

This study will investigate the intervention of parental assistance for normal and emotionally disturbed (ED) children from affluent and depressed areas.

In our society, the primary responsibility for the rearing of children lies with the family. The family, in turn delegates some of that responsibility to the school. Lloyd (1965) and Beck (1959) noted that no teacher or school can solve the academic problems of a student without consideration of parental and home influences. Edwards (1956) has pointed out that the educational success of children from socioeconomically depressed areas depends to a great extent on how much their parents can be involved.

Exceptional children should be taught skills that enable them to compete more successfully with the normal population. Children may be segregated during a period of special remediation, but when their training is completed they still must compete in a heterogeneous society. The goals of education are essentially the same for all children, but much evidence has been reported by researchers (Coleman 1966) showing that the public education institution has failed in facilitating the attainment of those goals by children from socioeconomically depressed areas.

There is an apparent relationship between emotional disturbance and class status, with the lowest class contributing "many more patients than its proportion of the population warrants" (Hollingshead and Redlick 1958, p. 217). Sexton (1961) found when relating education to income that members of the lowest income group ($3000 and below) in one of the largest U.S. cities were placed most often in classes for behavior problems or in detention homes.

In a survey taken by Cloward and Jones (1963, pp. 215-216) to assess educational participation by socioeconomic status, they suggested that "efforts to involve lower-class people in educational matters are quite likely to be rewarded by increased interest in the academic achievement of their children."

Parents of low achievers were brought into a program designed to give them specific ways to help their low achieving offspring in reading and arithmetic (Regal and Rizer 1963). The IQ's of the fifty-two subjects ranged from 141 to 80. The authors observed: "Although the numbers are too small to provide anything but a guide for further investigation, the success of children with Intelligence Quotients of 90 and below is worth a special note. Of the fifteen children who fell into the 90 or below category, ten of them were successful in gaining reading skills as defined for the study."

Differences in achievement of children from depressed and affluent areas are frequently linked to differences in life style. Differences in parental support are identified as a critical area of life style. Parents and students from depressed areas feel the school is alien to their needs and values (Kirk 1958; Sexton 1961; McCandless 1961; Riessman 1962; Coleman 1966).

If the disturbance, underachievement cycle typical of many children from deprived areas is to be broken, unique interventions must be identified. Programs designed to give parents specific instructions for tutoring their children in academic subjects may help reduce inappropriate relationships in both home and school environments.

Objective and Questions

The major objective of this study is to describe and evaluate a systematic parent tutoring program with normal and ED children from both affluent and depressed areas to determine the possible unique and lasting benefit of this intervention on school performance.

The following are some of the questions that will be investigated in this study:

1. Will there be significant differences between the achievement test gain scores of children from depressed areas and children from affluent areas receiving a parent tutoring program?
2. Will there be significant differences between the achievement test gain scores of normal and emotionally disturbed children from affluent and depressed areas receiving a parent tutoring program?

Sample

Two areas of a large urban community in central Pennsylvania were identified as depressed or affluent through the use of census data such as employment, income and housing.

From each of the depressed and affluent areas, children in regular third grade and primary level ED classes were randomly selected and designated as Parent Tutoring Experimental groups and control groups. Once the sample was selected, teacher-parent interviews were conducted to ascertain the economic and educational levels of the two groups. The mean income reported for the depressed group was $4,100 and $10,600 for the affluent group. The mean number of years of school completed was eight for the depressed group and fifteen for the affluent groups.

The sample consisted of eight groups: Depressed Normal Parent Experimental Class (DN); Depressed ED Parent Experimental Classes (DED);

Depressed Normal Control Class (DNC); Depressed ED Control Classes (DEDC); Affluent Normal Parent Experimental Class (AN); Affluent ED Parent Experimental Classes (AED); Affluent Normal Control Class (ANC) and Affluent ED Control Classes (AEDC).

Table 1

Summary Statistics for DN, DED, DNC, DEDC, AN, AED, ANC and AEDC

		Depressed		Affluent	
		Emot. Dist.	Normal	Emot. Dist.	Normal
		Mean (S.D.)	Mean (S.D.)	Mean (S.D.)	Mean (S.D.)
N	Exp.	28	33	26	31
	Cont.	26	34	29	30
Age (Months)	Exp.	102.3 (11.3)	102.8 (11.1)	102.2 (9.1)	103.6 (9.1)
	Cont.	103.0 (11.6)	102.0 (10.5)	100.0 (8.7)	103.3 (8.6)
IQ	Exp.	98.0 (8.5)	99.0 (5.2)	98.1 (9.6)	98.9 (5.6)
	Cont.	97.2 (5.7)	98.4 (5.2)	98.9 (10.7)	97.6 (5.0)

An examination of the pretest achievement scores in Table 1 shows that the experimental and control groups were similar in academic achievement at the time this study was initiated.

Procedure

During the first week of school the teachers in the experimental group visited the home of each of their students to explain to the parents the nature of the parent-tutoring experiment as an effort to increase the school performance of children. Those parents indicating a willingness to participate (in this case, all of those contacted) were invited to attend two three-hour group workshops designed to teach them skills in teaching techniques, record keeping and interpretation of lesson plans.

One goal of the program was to make the tutoring of the student in the home by the parent a continuation of the school curriculum. Parents were supplied with the same school materials as the teachers used. They also received a copy of the teacher's weekly lesson plans, which included activities for the home. Teachers were available for phone contact in cases where directions were not understood. Parents were asked to keep detailed records of time spent in tutoring sessions, type of reinforcement employed, success of tutoring sessions and charts of student's progress. These records were collected once a month and checked by the teachers for accuracy and consistency against their own records.

Teachers visited the homes of the children in the experimental group once every two weeks to offer the parents suggestions for improving their tutoring techniques, demonstrate correct tutoring procedures and assist with any individual problems. The daily progress of the student's work in the parent-tutoring sessions was checked by the teacher as she evaluated the quality of the student's homework assignments. Students and parents were encouraged to complete the assignments outlined in the weekly lesson plans.

It was anticipated that this procedure would provide the children with reinforcement for improved performance in school, and parents would provide additional reinforcement for their child's improved performance at home.

The control groups operated in their regular manner without any extra effort to encourage parents to work with students on school work.

Pre-experiment and post-experiment scores on the 1964 revision of the Stanford Achievement Test were the primary data collected. All of the selected S's were tested in September at the beginning of the School year and June at the end of the school year.

Results

Analysis of Data

The pretest and posttest scores reported in Table 2 represent the average scores of the seven subtests of the *Stanford Achievement Test, Primary Battery Form W*. The gain scores reported in this table were the data used for the analysis of variance reported in Table 3.

Table 2

Pretest, Posttest and Achievement Gain Scores for DN, DED, DNC, DEDC, AN, AED, ANC and AEDC

		Depressed				Affluent			
		Emot. Dist.		Normal		Emot. Dist.		Normal	
		Mean	(S.D.)	Mean	(S.D.)	Mean	(S.D.)	Mean	(S.D.)
Pretest	Exp.	18.6	(5.2)	22.4	(7.8)	28.5	(6.1)	32.7	(5.8)
	Cont.	18.7	(5.7)	21.9	(7.3)	28.5	(5.2)	32.8	(6.0)
Posttest	Exp.	42.0	(10.7)	43.0	(8.8)	46.5	(10.1)	48.0	(6.1)
	Cont.	22.0	(6.0)	25.3	(7.0)	34.5	(6.2)	44.3	(6.3)
Gain	Exp.	23.3	(9.8)	20.6	(6.0)	18.0	(9.6)	15.4	(4.4)
	Cont.	3.5	(4.4)	3.4	(3.8)	6.0	(4.6)	11.5	(5.9)

Table 3

Analysis of Variance Summary Table (Gain Scores)

Source	M.S.	df.	F.	Alpha
A (Expt-Control)	10,322.17	1	167.36	.0001
B (Disadv-Affluent)	6,110.44	1	99.05	.0001
C (Emot. Dist-Normal)	815.92	1	13.22	.0001
AxC Interaction	344.66	1	5.59	.02
BxC Interaction	190.71	1	3.09	.08
AxB Interaction	1,847.53	1	29.95	.0001
AxBxC Interaction	150.77	1	2.44	.12
Error	61.69	229		

The analysis of variance in Table 3 indicates that the differences in gain scores were not due to any single factor, but resulted from the unique effects of various combinations of factors. The rigorous interactions between the experimental intervention and socioeconomic status indicates that parent-tutoring has a significant differential effect depending on whether or not students are from affluent or depressed neighborhoods. Similarly, the interaction effect between parent-tutoring of ED children and parent-tutoring of normal children was also statistically significant.

The significance of the interaction effects reported in Table 3 suggests that combinations of factors (socioeconomic status, ED normal, parent-tutoring) were related to the changes in achievement scores rather than any single factor alone.

Since significant and substantial effects were revealed by combinations of factors, the writers attempted to identify the nature of those combinations.

Table 4

Difference in Achievement Gains Between Exp & Control Groups

	Depressed		Affluent	
	Emot. Dist.	Normal	Emot. Dist.	Normal
N	54	67	55	61
$\bar{G}_E - \bar{G}_C$	19.78	17.23	11.96	3.82
t	9.42	14.01	6.13	2.89
F^2	.606	.747	.404	.109

An examination of Table 4 suggests that the largest gains in achievement were made by the two groups from the depressed area receiving parent-tutoring. The affluent ED experimental group appeared to gain substantially more than the affluent normal experimental group. The substantial effects of parent-tutoring were further supported by the relatively large proportion of the variance of individual achievement scores as indicated by E^2.

Discussion

The major purpose of research in special education has been to identify instructional procedures which differentially benefit the education of handicapped children. An examination of the analysis of gains in achievement reported in Table 4 suggests that the parent-tutoring intervention was more beneficial for normal and ED children from depressed areas than normal children from affluent areas. In addition, the ED affluent children appeared to benefit substantially more from parent-tutoring than normal affluent children. Therefore, parent-tutoring appeared to be specially beneficial to the groups from depressed areas and the affluent normal group when compared to the normal ED group.

In order to further clarify the findings, Table 5 was constructed to show the change in percentile ranks of an average student.

Table 5

Percentile Ranks of an Average Student

	Disadvantaged		Affluent	
	E.D.	Normal	E.D.	Normal
Pretest-Exptal	8	12	38	57
Pretest-Cont.	8	12	38	57
Posttest-Exptal	56	59	74	74
Posttest-Cont.	4	5	40	60

The percentile ranks reported in Table 5 represent the relative position of an individual compared to the national norm sample published in the Stanford Achievement Test manual. The pretest and posttest scores reported in Table 2 were used to obtain these percentile ranks.

With both experimental and control, ED and normal groups from depressed areas ranked approximately in the lower ten percent of the national population of students. Those who received parent-tutoring gained sufficiently to be performing above average, while those not receiving parent-tutoring did not appear to make any gains. The ED affluent groups ranked substantially below the normal affluent groups performed at the same relative rank. In the control affluent groups the differential in performance persisted.

The parent-tutoring technique appeared to have a special effect on children from depressed areas and ED children from affluent areas.

Implications

This study was designed to test a paradigm that would respond to the issue of developing techniques that have specific remedial significance. The goal of special education is to remedy children's deficiencies so that they are able to compete successfully with normal children. In order to compete, the special child must catch up with the skills of the normal child. The task of researchers should be to discover interventions which will facilitate catching up.

Parent-tutoring was selected for testing in this study because this intervention appeared to fit logically for two target groups, the disadvantaged and the emotionally disturbed. There are numerous articles by social scientists observing that the cause of the maladaptiveness for both categories could in large part be accounted for by parental deficiencies.

This study demonstrated that parent-tutoring was effective for both categories. Both the disadvantaged and emotionally disturbed gained substantially in the direction of closing the gap in their performance with normal affluent children. Further application of the paradigm presented in this study may help in the identification of other variables related to educational and social malfunctioning.

In this study, prior to parent-tutoring the disadvantaged children performed on the Stanford Achievement Test at a level which suggested future failure in school. (See Tables) The deterioration in percentile rank of the control groups of disadvantaged children tends to support the cumulative deficit theory. On the other hand the control groups of children from affluent areas improved their percentile rank position. Without intervention disadvantaged and affluent drew farther apart in their percentile rank positions. With parent-tutoring disadvantaged children, who had performed at a level approximating the lowest ten percent of the population, gained sufficiently in one academic year to be performing above average. In addition, they reduced the gap between their academic performance and that of normal children who had received parent-tutoring. Parent-tutoring appears to be a differentially effective intervention with disadvantaged children.

The significance of parental involvement for emotionally disturbed children was supported by the findings. Emotionally disturbed children from middle-class homes were well below average prior to parent-tutoring, and the normal affluent children were well above average. With parent-tutoring the E.D. Affluent children caught up with their normal reference group.

The results of parent-tutoring with both categories suggests that the parent-child relationship has a powerful effect on the child's performance in school. The paradigm for this study provides the researcher with sufficient clues to inferentially consider causes of deficiency. When the percentile rankings in Table 5 are examined, the result of the one-year intervention with disadvantaged children places them at a similar percentile ranking as the normal affluent control group. This may suggest that with one academic year's training disadvantaged parents can attain the tutorial skills that middle-class parents have developed through their cultural heritage. From these findings researchers may infer that a substantial amount of the variance in performance between middle-class children and disadvantaged children may be accounted for by parental skill in tutorial activities.

Involving parents in programs for disadvantaged and emotionally disturbed children is not innovative. This is common practice for both these categories. The innovative aspect of this program was that specific goals were established and parents were trained and supervised in a structured procedure.

In the structure of the program, the child's teacher became the parents' teacher. The parents were taught how to tutor their child. Parents were provided with the same materials that were used in the classroom. The teacher reinforced the parent-child activities through recognition of the new accomplishments of the child. Communication was facilitated because the parents, child and teacher had familiarity with the same materials. The parents and children could observe the rewarding effects of their working together.

The results of this study should be interpreted with caution. There is no intent to suggest that parent-tutoring is the panacea for special education. The intent of this study was to seek an intervention that would have a differential effect on special children. This was achieved.

This study was a preliminary step. Now, the challenge is to discover other interventions, and to refine parental intervention so that additional special strategies can be made available for ameliorating the educational and social deficiencies of children.

SUMMARY

The writer's reactions to Whelan's paper were for the most part quite positive. Whelan presents an excellent overview of labeling both theoretically and legalistically in providing the reader with a fairly good conceptual definition of the term and process. His comment that labels should be used as brief communication devices and serve to guide and assist individuals who are assigned to promote behavior and the successful adjustment of children is indicative of the constructive manner in which the labeling process can be utilized. While his commentary touched on misuses of the labeling process, little attention was given to "ethnic considerations."

This paper attempted to supplement Whelan's discussion on the racial-poverty question of labeling. Rather than engaging in a completely derogatory narrative relative to the misuses of labeling in assigning poor and minority group children to special education classes, the writer attempted to focus on the real issue central to the labeling question. Much of the concern is not over the fact that a child is labeled, but that the child becomes damaged in some manner as a consequence of that labeling. Special education receives the blame for much of that damage. It would be difficult to discuss misuses of labeling without mentioning the "evils" of the special class model.

In order to utilize labels and diagnostic practices effectively in educating children with problems it becomes essential that successful special education strategies be developed. To this end, the writer presented one research effort that appears to be an effective addition to some existing special education practices. This one strategy is by no means the final truth in special education, but solutions similar to this endeavor must be examined if the labeling-special class issue is to be resolved.

Most parents, black or white, rich or poor, have the same goals of education for their children. The question of value differences is not as real as much of the literature describes. Children who succeed in society are what is demanded. Certainly there are cultural differences among the children that come to school for an education. Education is not charged with making all of these youngsters look alike and fit a given predetermined mold. The crucial issue is that no matter what label, skin color, or socioeconomic status a child brings to school, the school's obligation is to educate the child in a manner that enables him to be as successful as his ability will allow. This is the challenge that must be faced and met.

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COMMENT ON A PAPER BY DR. WHELAN AND MR. JACKSON

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In commenting on Dr. Whelan's and Mr. Jackson's excellent paper, the most useful things to do probably would be to set out the legal rulings to date concerning labeling, to review the litigation presently pending and to attempt to make some evaluation of the probable impact of the increasing legal activity in this area of the educational process. In other words, to discuss not what you ought to do about labeling from an educational standpoint, but what you may be forced to do from a legal standpoint. I think, as well, it is only fair to comment in passing on the impact of the labeling cases on the judicial system. I believe that these cases raise a basic jurisprudential question of the comparative roles of determinations of fact and of law which necessarily arise when the court finds itself in a position requiring evaluations of detailed and extensive bodies of technical, scholarly information.

It is interesting to note that this issue was first raised in Brown v. The Board of Education, 374 U.S. 483 (1954), which used the famous or infamous footnote No. 11 to substantiate findings that a separate but equal education is by its nature inherently unequal. This finding was later challenged in an interesting case in Georgia, Stell v. Savannah-Chatham County Board of Education, 220 F. Supp. 667 (1963) Eastern District of Georgia, rev'd on appeal ____Fed. 2d____. In the Stell case, the opponents of desegregation offered sociological and educational evidence to the effect that segregation had a more beneficial educational effect on Negro children than integration. The court found that as a matter of fact the evidence supporting the segragationists was persuasive. The case was reversed on appeal with the finding that Brown v. The Board of Education had established as a matter of law, and not as a matter of fact, that segragation was inherently unequal.

In Hobson v. Hansen, 269 F. Supp. 401 (1967), aff'd, Smuck v. Hanson, 408 Fed. 2d 172 (1968), one is led to believe that Judge Wright was aware of this problem, since he very carefully distinguishes his findings of law and findings of fact. Nonetheless, in Conley v. Lake Charles School Board, 303 F. Supp. 394 (1969) and in Whittenberg v. Greenville County School District, 298 F. Supp. 784, 790 (1969), two segregation cases, a similar challenge is made to the findings of Hobson v. Hansen.

The implications of these findings for educators are interesting in their practical effect. They imply, I should say, that an educator who wishes to use the judicial process to change the educational system must be prepared to understand the laws of evidence and to present persuasive, factual data and scientific studies which can be substantiated by recognized methods, and also be prepared to cross examine expert witnesses on the other side along these same lines. Indeed regardless of their own desires, many educators may soon be forced to understand the workings of the courts.

The basic question posed by the leading cases is: Is the educational system doing what it says it ought to be doing for retarded children and if not, is the system racially discriminatory? Using this pragmatic approach as our frame of reference, it may be interesting to review some of the current and past litigation pending in the general area relating to labeling. Hobson v. Hansen is the case which abolished the tracking system in the District of Columbia. It also abolished a number of practices which the court felt led to segregation in education.

In Hobson v. Hansen, Judge Skelley Wright made a lengthy and detailed finding of fact of approximately fifty pages. I might say parenthetically that this has to be one of the longest decisions I have ever read, and indicates the amount of work put into it by the Judge who took, I understand, a year on special assignment to hear and assess the case.

To summarize information which really requires close individual study, the court finds, as a matter of fact, that the school district lacked the techniques and the facilities for ascertaining the innate learning ability of a majority of the district school children, and that lacking these techniques and facilities, the school system could not justify the placement and retention of children in lower tracks on the supposition that they could do no better given the opportunity to do so (op. 488). Additionally, the court finds as a matter of fact that for a majority of the District children there was a substantial risk of being wrongly labeled as having subnormal intelligence, "a label which cannot be effectively removed by simply interpreting aptitude test scores" (op. 489). Also, the court finds that the real tragedy is a likelihood that the student will act out the judgment about his mental ability, and confirm it by achieving only the expected level (op. 491).

Judge Wright concludes his lengthy consideration of the facts with the following statement, "None of this is to suggest either that a student should be sheltered from the truth about his academic deficiencies, or that instruction cannot take account of varying levels of ability. It is to say that a system that presumes to tell the student what his ability is and what he can successfully learn, incurs an obligation to take account of the psychological damage that can come from such an encounter between the student and the school; and to be certain that it is in a position to decide whether the student's deficiencies are true, or only apparent. The District of Columbia School System has not shown that it is in such a position! (Op. 492).

What does all this have to do with the law? In his conclusions of law, which again are lengthy but nowhere as lengthy as the findings of fact, Judge Wright makes clear that classifications according to ability are not by themselves a violation of any constitutional protection of equal protection. The substance of the complaint in this case, as he sees it, is that the track system as administered, regardless of intent - and here we hark back to the principles of Gault - has become a system of discrimination founded on socioeconomic and racial status rather than ability, and results in undereducation. The evidence shows that the track system assigns according to status, and therefore on violation of their own premise, and constitutes an unlawful discrimination. The track system is fatally defective because for many students placement is based on traits other than those on which the classification purports to be based (Op. 513).

Further, once in the track there is no special help, no flexibility, no opportunity to reach the higher levels of achievement.

The fact that labeling cases are brought up at all undoubtedly stems from re Gault, 387 U.S. 1 (1967). Gault did not however, raise the issue of whether a juvenile must be afforded some sort of treatment if he is in a so-called rehabilitation institution. That case was in fact brought in Arizona subsequent to the Gault decision by the same attorney, who was not successful in having it heard. As is often the case when a single individual is involved, his particular case was taken care of, making the case in court moot.

What Gault did hold was that if a juvenile is to be denied the constitutional protections of due process on the theory that the entire juvenile court system and the related rehabilitory institutions are created for his benefit, and on the theory that there is in reality no adverse party but simply a variety of parties seeking the juvenile's best interest, then the system must in fact reflect those values. The Supreme Court in essence finds that although the juvenile court theory is laudable in intent, in practice it has become in many cases much more similar to an adult criminal procedure with incarceration rather than education or treatment being the final result. If this is the real effect, then specific constitutional guarantees must be given. (In Gault, four specific constitutional guarantees were enumerated: the right to notice of the specific charge against him, the right to cross-examine witnesses, the protection of the privilege against self-incrimination, and the right to counsel. Subsequent cases have sought to expand these into the full protection afforded the criminal defendants, but this status has not yet been reached.)

In Gault, as in Brown v. The Board of Education and Hobson v. Hansen, the basic point the court addresses itself to is whether the situation in fact and in practice is unconstitutional. This theme continues to run through the cases now pending in court which have not yet resulted in a binding judicial opinion. The pending cases seek to substantially extend the ruling in Hobson v. Hansen. Attacks in a court have come not only against racial and socioeconomic discrimination through testing, but also through what seems to be the most obvious discrimination - that of testing a child in a language other than his native tongue.

In Diana v. State Board of Education, C-70 37 RFP. Dist. Ct. No. California, Feb. 1970, it was stipulated that:

> (1) All children whose primary home language is other than English must be tested in both their primary language and in English.
>
> (2) Mexican-American and Chinese children already in classes for the mentally retarded must be retested in their primary

language and must be reevaluated only as to their achievement on nonverbal tests or sections of tests.

(3) State Psychologists are to work on norming a new or revised IQ test to reflect Mexican-American culture. This test will be normed by giving it only to California Mexican-Americans so that in the future Mexican-American children tested will be judged only by how they compare to the performance of their peers, not the population as a whole.

In Arreola v. Board of Education, Santa Ana School Dist., No. 160 577, Sup. Ct., Orange County, California, eleven Mexican-American children asked that classes for the mentally retarded be prohibited until (1) A hearing is provided before placement as required by the Due Process Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment of the US Constitution and Article 1, Section 13 of the California Constitution; (2) The IQ tests used to determine placement recognize cultural differences among students in general and the Mexican-American plaintiffs in particular; and (3) The classes for the mentally retarded provide an educationally meaningful curriculum and periodic retesting.

In Covarrubias v. San Diego Unified School Dist., San Diego Unified School Dist., April, 1970, seventeen Mexican-American and black students asked money damages under the Civil Rights Act of 1871 for conspiracy by the defendant, and its officers and agents, to deprive plaintiffs of equal protection of the laws. An injunction against EMR classes until better testing methods are implemented is also asked.

Stewart v. Philips, 70-119-F, USDC, Mass., October, 1970, is a comprehensive complaint encompassing three classes of plaintiffs: (1) All poor or black Boston public school students who are not mentally retarded but have been improperly placed in special classes for the mentally retarded; (2) All poor or black students who are not mentally retarded and have been denied placement in educational programs created for their special educational needs; and (3) All parents of students placed in classes for the mentally retarded in the Boston public schools who have been denied opportunity to participate in the placement decision. Class (1) and (2) plaintiffs argue denial of equal protection and violation of the Fourteenth Amendment; Class (3) plaintiffs ask $20,000 apiece in compensatory and punitive damages for denial to them of due process in that they were not given an opportunity to be heard on whether their children should be placed in classes for the mentally retarded. Class (3) plaintiffs also ask that no additional students be placed in special education classes until a "Commission on Individual Needs" is established consisting of members appointed by the Commissioner of Education, Commissioner of Mental Health, the President of the Massachusetts Psychological Association, and the Mayor of Boston. The purposes of the Commission would be to oversee the administration of a "battery of psychological tests" rationally related to an accurate determination of a student's learning ability, to devise educational programs to meet individual educational needs, to insure that the tests be administered by qualified psychologists, and to establish consultation procedures by which parents might participate in the placement of their children.

It should be noted that of all the cases which specifically deal with labeling and related problems, only Hobson v. Hansen has actually resulted in a binding court opinion. Even Diana, which is widely cited, was an out-of-court settlement and not a court's opinion. None of the other cases have resulted in judicial determination to date. Nonetheless, some guidelines may be drawn from the present cases.

First of all, educators concerned in this area will learn again the lesson of the desegration cases: the court is not an administrative agency and its determinations and directions may be difficult to work with. In the Hobson v. Hansen case, Judge Wright did not give any substantial period of time for compliance or any method of implementing the change; he simply decreed that the track system was abolished. His opinion was handed down in June and a compliance report was due the following October. Educators who are directly concerned with such cases will have to be ready to adjust to a decision of this kind. A decision may come down simply abolishing special education classes or certain methods of testing or labeling of one sort or another, without any particular indication of alternative plans or how this school is to adjust to the decision which has been made. Some of these cases could even lead to an opinion which in effect abolishes the entire school system as we now know it.

If for example, it is held that a child must be tested in a way to show his real ability in light of his own ethnic, racial, social background, and then educated accordingly, and if the system does not provide for education of the Spanish-speaking or black sub-culture child, it must evidently be reformed to do so since the alternative would be to put him back in the same learning situation where he would again not be able to cope.

It is undoubtedly for this reason that Hobson v. Hansen like Brown v. The Board of Education, has been criticized in a number of places on the point that the courts are not the place where these questions should be answered. In Whittenberg and in Conley supra, the courts each point out that HEW and the boards of education have better competence than the courts, and the courts cannot decide these questions.*

The basic problem with this attack, it seems to me, it that it presupposes one body of absolute knowledge on the effectiveness of testing, labeling, track systems and related concepts. I cannot believe that any educators here would assert that absolute truth has been achieved in this area. Indeed, the fact that this subject is one of the major topics of this conference and the object of analysis by the distinguished educators here indicates that the problem is still very much under study. In such an instance, the plaintiff is apt to be one who simply disagrees with the expert opinion and its application in his own particular case, and desires to present another expert, another analysis. Where but the courts can he go to do so? If the school district or the state board of education were to provide administrative recourse where such plaintiffs would be able to get a full and impartial hearing, the recourse to the courts then would be obviated and these matters would be kept within the relative expertise of the school system. If, however, the school system is unable or unwilling to provide these procedures, surely the plaintiffs must have an opportunity to be heard, and where else but in the courts? If plaintiffs assert a violation of constitutional rights, the courts cannot fail to determine whether such constitutional rights have in fact been violated, even if this involves the weighing of difficult technical and unfamiliar knowledge. It should be pointed out that the courts are by no means new to such procedures in many areas. Extensive testimony of economics experts is taken in antitrust cases for example, as is extensive medical evidence in insurance, negligence or workmen's compensation cases. While the performance of the court system, including lay juries, may not be faultless, it is to my mind the best alternative under our present social system. Consequently, I return to my earlier assertion that one of the strongest implications of these cases for the educational profession is the necessity of marshalling legal evidence for use in the court room in such a way that it is impervious to attack by the opponents and counsel and expert advisors.

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*See also the critical comments in Judge (now Chief Justice) Burger's dissenting opinion in Smuck v. Hobson, 408 Fed. 2d 172, (1968), "Hobson v. Hansen; judicial supervision of the color-blind school board," 81 Harvard Law Review, 1511 (1968); "Hobson v. Hansen; the de facto limits on judicial power," 20 Stanford Law Review, 1248 (1968); Kurland, "Equal Education Opportunity: The Limits of Constitutional Jurisprudence Undefined," 35 University of Chicago Law Review, 583 (1968).

As a final point, I think another highly significant aspect of these cases is that in at least two cases, money damages have been asked. Although the seemingly never-ending law suits resulting from the Brown case and the assertions that the Washington, D.C. system was affected very little by the abolishment of the track system tend to minimize the impact of legal decisions on the educational system, the request for money damages makes a significant difference. One has only to look at the medical profession, at the insurance rates in that area, and the automobile collision insurance rates, to realize the effect that money damages can have in any professional area. Here again, anyone charged with educational responsibility should for his own benefit get clear advice on the possible liabilities which might result from assertions of impartial, incorrect and unconstitutional applications of testing, testing standards and labeling to students under his jurisdiction.

Malpractice suits may well become the order of the day, especially for those who claim a special expertise in educating the mentally retarded. While legal aid attorneys will swell the flood of litigation, the real rip-tide will come from contingent fee cases in which damages are asked.

In sum, perhaps the courts are not the best place in which to determine the scholarly questions of the problems of labeling and the ways to correct present practices. However, unless correcting is done on the initiative of the school system and scholars in the field, the courts will undoubtedly begin to have the impact in this area that they have in desegregation and medical malpractice.

III. CHILD ADVOCACY

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CHILD ADVOCACY: A MODEL FOR SOCIAL FACILITATION

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An African proverb reads "To know nothing is bad; to learn nothing is worse." Those words are both the challenge of and opportunity for this discussion on child advocacy. The child in Western civilization has had a romanticized role of advocacy. There is a Biblical reference, for example, to "a child shall lead them." "Child is the father of mankind" is another philosophical value that gets dusted off every so often. In actuality, however, the consideration of children seems to beg the moral of the African proverb. At the same time, I do not wish to denigrate the significance of the departure from child as a miniature adult. By contrast, there are equally important concerns about activities superimposed on an old value structure which invite resistance to change or to failure in general.

Before proceeding, I want to clarify some basic notions which will give a better focus to many of the pitfalls which victimize our philosophical and scientific activities. First, for too long, there has been a tradition to speak as if any one child were representative of all children. Cognitive development and social organization are still very much determined by race, sex, and social class. It is those demographic characteristics around which the storehouse of social science information has been amassed. At the same time, there has been a tendency to find comfort in the illusion that the American dream and the American reality are unified. Positions to the contrary are considered to be polemic. Yet, personal characteristics bind humans to consequences which may not be consonant with one's values and interests or future action.

Next, in very selective ways there is an inflexible and sterile self-system based upon an as if set with respect to interpersonal relations. This recurring odyssey, impaired by social history and unable to negotiate current social realities, denies an individual the right to be human. One is rewarded or punished on the basis of deviating from the norm of "as if one were." The toll on interpersonal relations by such dramatizations has been described fully by Sullivan and others. Still, socialization processes continue to require acting-like, sounding-like or playing-at being something that one in fact cannot be.

Finally, Afro-Americans and other ethnic minorities, as well as individual Anglo-Americans, have based their activities on the premise that all human beings share a common biological and social heritage. These groups also have believed deeply in the core values of this nation. But the social institutions and priorities of the country do not support a linkage of humanity from one racial group to another. Ironically, such pathology is all too often the hallmark of the reciprocity between the purposes, expectations, and activities of social scientists and the larger society. As a consequence, consensus models in training, professional services and research activities have a built-in process which is quite dysfunctional when it comes to a rational understanding of the social order and its impact upon individuals.

Enforced discrepant behavior because one does not conform to the model configuration of American Society is hardly defensible either scientifically or humanely. The tremendous preoccupations with compliance demands to avoid punishment or to seek rewards by any sizeable segment of society not only demoralizes functional activity in personality growth, but prevents it.

Moreover, the waste of human abilities because members of society are too immature to celebrate differences must receive serious concern. Status quo arrangements of situational factors in the social order must yield to interpersonal opportunities which reflect a sensitivity to the interplay of culture and human individuality. It is quite irrational to require the aging to act as if they were young, to expect females to act as if they were male, or to demand Afro-Americans to act as if they were Anglo-Americans. Such excessive demands are much too costly in causing lack of self-esteem or dissatisfaction with life generally. Accordingly, the most efficient remedy would lie in pluralistic approaches.

Perhaps this is a long way around to indicate that subsequent references to child, actually mean the Afro-American child. Afro-American is the concept which establishes the anthropological context of child as advocate. As such it is not to be confused with Blackness which is a being-in-becoming process, dependent upon an incorporation of psycho-social-biological factors that (1) facilitate a mastery of self; (2) promote self-esteem; (3) allow for need reduction; (4) combat apathy; and, (5) incorporate narcissism and ethnocentrism as positive motivating influences.

Although Blackness is a personality construct which is manifested through behavior that changes racial factors from constraining forces to agents of social facilitation, it requires an understanding of arrested personal-social actions steming from dehumanized treatment. In view of this thesis, Afro-Americans, Negro, Black or colored should not be used interchangeably, since each designation reflects different properties. On the other hand, attention to the Afro-American child as advocate will serve as a catalyst for similar developments with other children. Child advocacy, in this connection, is a sub-system of social facilitation based upon needs of the child with the aim of conserving and enhancing human resources in contemporary society.

The Child as an "Ought to Be"

Children most often become victims of tradition at best or unwilling consumers of fashion at worst. Of course, there are times when tradition and fashion become a peculiar blending. This paradox can be seen in the use of terms that gained currency from the 1950's through the present. First, it was the "culturally deprived," then came the "disadvantaged," the "educationally handicapped," and variations on those themes. Yet, the behavioral characteristics of all those so-called different catagories have one striking theme: A masking of social conditions responsible for influencing learning or those external factors which restrict the processing of information. Indeed, a good case can be made for the translation of such labeling to mean inferiority. A review of the extant literature can be quite revealing in this regard.

Children of any demographic description are presumed to deserve or require infliction of pain, with or without anxiety, as punishment. These unfortunate pecularities have a basis in socializing influences trapped in the conflict between ought and must. In addition, Sullivan (p. 139) has stated:

> When it comes to imposing the prescriptions of the culture on the child, these prescriptions are often most glaringly contradictory on different occasions, so that they require complex discrimination of authority figures......And more important than anything else out of the irrational and impulse-driven type of education by anxiety, and by reward and punishment--that is tenderness and fear--a great many children quite early begin to develop the ability to conceal what is going on in them what actually they have been doing behind someone's back, and thus to deceive the authoritative figures.

This required-behavior syndrome in a child's life operates to negate advocacy as an experience that would promote adjustive growth. As an observation, it has also been noted that; "the child is expected to do things which are brought to his (sic) attention or impressed on him (sic) as requirements for action by the authority-carrying environment (Sullivan, p. 137). Under such circumstances, it is only difficult but not impossible for authority-carrying figures to serve as ombudsmen for child advocacy. Success, while requiring a social support system that promotes adequate and appropriate behavior, will depend upon the extent to which the child is referent for all services. Needs of the child, in much the same manner, must not go unfulfilled because of demands made by authority-carrying figures or through a misuse in the ombudsmen roles, Rights and social welfare of a child must not be violated simply because the child is perceived to be or happens to be a symptom-bearer of a condition where the remedy involves a pervasive aspect of the precipating factor. If a child is perceived as the problem then parents and all other significant people must be a part of the solution. This solution, however, should not be for the convenience of the significant others.

Bits and Pieces are Like Sticks and Stones

The richness and range of interactions should be expanded between and among variables such as age, race, sex, social class, education and so forth. It is especially critical that such expansion occurs since our view of the individual has shifted from a single dimension to one of a multiple system with biological-psychological-social-cultural interconnections. Descriptive and prescriptive activities which incorporate this enlarged view of human beings promote an understanding of what Angyal has discussed as "the dynamic effects exerted by each Gestalt as it struggles toward complete realization of its system principle by eliminating or re-fitting system inconsistent elements" (p. 300). At the very least, all activities should reflect comprehensive care, continuity in services, coordination of effort, and accessibility to services.

The facts of goals, needs and will of children have been neglected if not ignored in many important ways. Goal-seeking and directedness or meaningful behavior necessitate conceptual properties which respect logical interdependence that begins with *as is* assumptions, rather than *as if* assumptions of empirical interdependence. What I am saying is, to put new wine in old bottles does not give the wine vintage.

> The necessary conceptualization of psychology cannot be reached by merely repeating in a more formalistic manner, the statements of an existing psychological school like that of conditioned reflex or of psychoanalysis. Logical form and content are closely interwoven in any empirical science. Formalization should include the development of constructs every one of which is considered from the start both as a carrier of formal implication and as an adequate representation of empirical data. This implies that the operational and conceptual definitions are not arbitrarily related but show an internal coherence (Lewin, p. 212).

It has been the infraction of this proposition which has hampered progress in human services.

Conceptual models have been permitted, for the most part, to remain unblemished by current social reforms. Yet, this very aloofness is contributory to the growing dissatisfaction with many services rendered. With respect to education, for example, many consumers (students, parents, community residents and professionals) consider remediation to connote repression of some sort; and, compensatory offerings have the implied meaning of buying off rather than boosting learning. Rehabilitation has become especially stigmatized according to many ex-felons as supporting inertia at worst while at best promoting the very activities that lead to the problems in the first place. New conceptual schemes must denote not only the human need for mastery, but social advancement as well. From these implicit assumptions should flow the patterns of goals and needs, their interrelations, and the ways of satisfying them. Spatial relations of psychological variables have to be represented by extending the association between individual traits and cultural ecological influences. Hence, the degree of differentiation and problems of dynamics must be defined in terms that fit cultural patterning and its impact on psychological forces.

So many findings in social science have been contested largely because the replication of studies has added nothing of significance to our knowledge. As a matter of fact, this restricting approach has prevented radical revisions in theory. With child advocacy, however, whether that is actually the case will be determined by the extent to which methodological postulates encourage new questions about old data, as well as the formulation of a new conclusion from the new experience.

There is a methodological gap between demands for services and conceptual schemes. On the other hand, creative work is seriously impaired by the myths and stereotypes transmitted in the name of science. Much of the reason for these distortions can be attributed to the use of closed systems of behavior which allow for a contamination (if not a promotion of systemic) racism and sexism in social science activities. The resulting outcomes, of course, serve to stabilize the captive positions an individual or group has held in society. Open systems, by contrast, involve a complex of elements in mutual interaction. This model can be usefully applied to humans who function below their potential. I also hold that an open system theory would promote a liberation of instutionalized psychology, which has maintained an orientation to social pathology or deviance at the expense of health; postulated differences as symboloc of inferiority; and promoted the principle of individualism as the special province of those with the "right" age, race, sex, social class, and education rather than an inherent human motive.

By contrast, child advocacy as an open system holds the promise for social action which will combat the resistance to a different view of humanity. This direction necessitates an emphasis on growth, change, creativity and becoming.

Bridging the Gap Between Knowledge and Action

Child advocacy as a model for social facilitation represents an opportunity to profit from an organizational pattern which must bridge the gap between needs and available but fragmented resources. As a social movement, child advocacy must become more than a replacement of the child guidance clinic movement or any similar development. This can be best achieved through new skills, new kinds of professionals, and new patterns in human resources development. At the same time, it is most essential that there be mutual accountability between the community, the various agencies and people in need of services. In these days of one thing or another "to the people," child advocacy must be for the child, of the children, by the family and with the community. Thus, the organization and delivery of services must be different, but geared to enhancement functions as expressed through mastery and self-actualization. Greater effort does not need to be devoted to studying or documenting the damage done to children. Rather, it is beyond the time to demonstrate an accommodation of needs, in order that there might be a translation of knowledge into action. Very few children, for example, escape the labeling which underscores a deficit characterized by inadequate care and treatment. The lack of support and assistance from society is also well known. To concentrate on a child with a particular disabling condition is to disregard the committment to child advocacy. Previous approaches to human development through isolation of particular cases have not produced the desired effect in changing conditions of suffering. Furthermore, there is no substantial reason for discarding the interdependent relationships which prevail in a family.

Each member of a family has an impact on every other member of that family. Child advocacy depends upon all members of a family as necessary elements in facilitating social support. This being the case, it becomes necessary to identify and distinguish differential responses along presentational dimensions. To single out a particular type of child for services, in my opinion, yields short-term social benefits. Such an approach contributes to fragmentation, lack of continuity of services, and unnecessary duplication of care. There is also the matter of unwarrented competition for dwindling financial resources and inadequate human resources. For these reasons, intervention and prevention must be directed toward the family and community of any child who can be identified as needing care. What I am saying very simply is: One may start with a mentally retarded child or some other disabled child, but comprehensive and continuous care must be extended to all others who are within range of the environmental control of that particular child. Corrective services necessarily will include all who may be inadequately stimulating or inappropriately stimulating the child. The effects of successful intervention should exert a positive influence on all members of the target community.

If a child is the significant mirror of a family, then the family is most certainly a reflection of the community, and the community is an image of society. This prescription for social services or corrective programming should include but not be restricted to:

1. Assisting the child in mastering the immediate social environment within the scope of his potential. Too many Afro-Americans are insidiously programmed to give in to social pressures at the expense of self-worth.
2. Understanding differences in developmental experiences which foster differences in social roles and responsibilities. Sex-related roles have to be explicit in all activities.
3. Recognizing the substantive resourcefulness, strength and ingenuity

that exists in the family even if it is different from other family arrangements. Unless one is going to change the social order which supports the family arrangement, it is hardly defensible to criticize the victims.

4. Building on those assets which the child has going for him. This cannot be done effectively until there are new assessment procedures.

5. Creating a social climate which fosters an authentic sense of self through exploratory and instructive programs of Black awareness.

6. Supporting a linkage between sub-systems and the larger social order. Issues concerned with education cannot be separated from social welfare, health and political realities.

7. Transforming "deviant" societal prescriptions and expectations into adaptable, positive, creative experiences. Make your skills and other resources available.

8. Developing a referral system that does not contribute to feelings of low self-esteem. If the life style of people is alien or threatening, move on to another arena where the less than human definition will not be used as a means for destroying because you can't understand or accept them.

9. Treating instead of tabulating emotional, social, behavioral, physical, and cultural debilitating conditions. Human misery does not need further discovery or confirmation.

10. Understanding that program uniqueness or innovation without a solid rationale fosters self-defeating behavior.

The most compelling reason for including family and community actively in any proposed system of child advocacy concerns the significant rise in consciousness by Afro-Americans and the communal humanistic qualities inherent in Blackness. While I do not consider it appropriate here to validate the movement as a social science model and the ensuing benefits for human betterment, I do believe it necessary to emphasize that neither concealment nor denial of this reality will characterize any program as technically sound and socially useful. This thesis was concisely addressed in a recent edition of the Black Child Development Dispatch:

> Black folks have unique needs at this point in history. We must be concerned with survival, not just of the Black Child but of the community of which our children are a part. We want control

> of child development programs at the local level so that we can use them to stimulate the development not only of our Black children, but of Black communities as well. We want the freedom to build program and curriculum which reflect our proud and rich culture and which meet our special needs. We want the decision-making authority to determine who will construct the buildings, conduct the research projects or provide technical assistance.

Blackness as a positive pyschological affirmation of the worth and dignity of Afro-Americans is not to be dismissed because of guilt or wickedness in Anglo-Americans, or due to guilt or vulnerability or apprehension in Afro-Americans. Such posturing merely interferes with the removal of personal-social barriers and the elimination of that paternalism inflicted by racism. By contrast, the current Black experience is to be seen as a theory of humanity which takes into account demographic characteristics as an information-processing system. We should also note that theory has both a tool and a goal function. The tool function is to be seen in the use of theory to direct studies or to develop programs. The goal function involves something valued as an object in its own right which in this case is the Black experience itself.

Doing Not Trying*

Continuous interaction that is stimulating and supportive of child advocacy will require an education component and the taking of services to those who can use them. These features not only promote the system of services and allow for flexibility around community responsibility, but they also reduce conflicts between needs and demands.

In the matter of education, programs of several types are necessary. Consumer educational offerings should be provided to help the ombudsmen enhance their skills and to further community development through the child.

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*Grateful acknowledgement is extended to Shirley W. Thomas for her assistance in the preparation of this section.

While the courses can cover a wide range of topics, each should reflect demands by the consumers and should have an interdisciplinary quality. In addition, each should be an opportunity to understand principles of human growth and development.

Technical educational programs should seek to develop (1) interdepartmental courses, and (2) specialized courses that would present an interdisciplinary view of human development around the child, the family and the society in the context of the Black experience. This assumes that the "differences are inferiority" syndrome or the "Black mothers can't teach their children" myth and similar stereotypes in the literature will be analyzed and placed in perspective. The approach also requires joint planning by experts from the community. In addition, it calls for strategies such as team teaching, use of a wide variety of visual aids, lecture-discussions, cognitive therapy groups as well as the development of new assessment procedures.

A concentrated work-study program should be organized to include a variety of students and community residents. The academic work load should be closely coordinated with the field experiences. It is also essential that the didactic setting rotate between campus and community. Each enrollee whould not only receive academic credit, but a stipend as well.

The value of such work-study programs lies in giving a more dynamic multifacet view of human development, particularly with respect to Afro-Americans, building bridges between individual disciplines and between professionals in human sciences, and developing career contingency models based upon a blending of formal education and meaningful experiences. A rotating experience in functional roles should be provided through any combination of administering, teaching, or giving direct services. The major differences between enrollee and student should be whether one is in a degree-seeking program.

Systematic solutions to social and racial problems are critically dependent upon corresponding changes in training content and methods. A core of studies in psychology is important, for example, if one wishes to use psychological expertise. But that is only one aspect in the production of a psychologist. Equal attention has to be given to a core of knowledge from other social sciences and ethnic studies. Through this multidisciplinary mix, it becomes possible to maximize information about the conditions and experiences needed to develop social facilitation in the consumers of the service. The narrowness of professional specialization has not served any of us well and it is a major barrier to the very reforms that we so often claim to be desired. Time is not disposed to any of us who would continue business as usual by conceptualizing outworn assumptions and transmitting misinformation about values from the past.

By way of summary, this presentation has pointed out some of the fallacies in the preoccupation with social pathology and maladaptive constraints of human behavior. A shift in emphasis was suggested for organization of child advocacy services.

The inappropriate repeating of what society wants to hear does not foster an appreciation of differences in any spectrum of human endeavor. At the most, such activities promote the type of credibility gap which results in a capricious waste of human resources. On the other hand, I have very deliberately tried to de-emphasize the use of the label "mentally retarded," or "disadvantaged" and the like, because I have considerable doubt that these classifications are used to enhance or to conserve ones' value as a human being.

Furthermore, given the fact that far too many ethnic minority people are dehumanized generally because they are different in appearance, and too often misclassified as educable mentally retarded, I believe there is a disproportionate concern with diagnostic labels that interferes with a committment to improving the human condition.

> "To know nothing is bad;
> to learn nothing is worse."

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DESIGNING A COMMUNITY ADVOCACY PROGRAM: A RESPONSE TO CHARLES W. THOMAS

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Mr. Thomas's insightful development of the concept of child advocacy has struck many responsive chords within my thinking upon this subject. I would like to elaborate upon three themes which were of particular interest to me: 1) the Afro-American child as a prototype for advocacy, 2) no one child can be standard for all children, and 3) a revolution of child services.

Mr. Thomas's illustration of the Afro-American child and his struggle to gain identity and dignity in his blackness seems highly analogous to the struggle of all children (especially those now labeled as deviant) to assert and even to celebrate their differences. The gaining of blackness, as Mr. Thomas calls it, seems prototypic for any system of advocacy. I think this position has been most articulately described by Eldridge Cleaver in Soul on Ice (1968). Here Mr. Cleaver calls our attention to the new trend in white middle-class society in regaining a knowledge and awareness of our bodies. Through such vehicles as T-groups and encounter groups, etc., Cleaver notes this process, and sees a parallel between it and the recent movement of the black population of our country in becoming aware of its own intellectual prowess and culture. Cleaver articulates the positive results which flow from this in achieving a new humanness for the black population. He describes the basis of this self-awareness in the black man as a prototype for the salvation of all men in Western civilization. It is only through a mutual awareness of both body and mind that the true human being can in fact develop.

Thus, the self-liberated black man who has found himself in both body and spirit becomes, in fact, a model and perhaps the only existing model, which can resolve the personal alienation and domination so prevalent in Western civilization. Based on Cleaver's diagnosis of our society and my own feelings concerning alienation, I strongly support Mr. Thomas's position that the black or the "Afro-American" child as advocate establishes an anthropological model which may provide a relevant alternative for a new direction in our society. As Mr. Thomas likens Afro-Americans in the process of becoming black to the process in which white society must envelop itself for its own salvation, so child advocacy serves as the ultimate content and process through which the child-servicing agencies of the country must revolutionize their services.

Such a process is needed due to the premise upon which all contemporary child-service agencies are based, that one type or class of children may serve as a standard for all children. Thomas states that "for too long there has been a tradition as if one child were representative of all children." The helping system in America has too long run under this illusion, that there is an "acceptable standard" or legitimate norm for behavior in American society. If such a hypothesis were true, then most of the remedial, compensatory, and other such programs geared from a position of disability would be justified. However, the whole philosophy of America as a melting pot is contrary to the position of programming from disability. Such a position, with its emphasis upon a norm and the remediation of the divergent or disabled toward that norm, contradicts the very tenets of heterogeneity upon which our country was founded.

To respond to the problem of programming for disability and thus to reach my third point, a positive reformation in the training and delivery of services in the helping professions must be forged. Mr. Thomas suggests broad new roles be created. He talks about work-study programs to blend formal education into meaningful experiences and about expanding from core studies in psychology to all the interdisciplinary areas around it. In addition, he proposes a program of ethnic studies using this interdisciplinary approach. He warns against the closed system of education which, in fact, teaches new professionals to conceptualize through out-worn assumptions and to transmit misinformation about values as they existed in the past.

I would agree that programming efforts designed to facilitate socialization in childhood are hopelessly fragmented and impossibly rigid in their present context. It would seem that the only hope for bringing change in child-service would be an institutional revolution whereby present forms of "professionalism" will be discarded and new models developed. Attempts such as Mr. Thomas discusses, wherein modification of professional roles as they exist is undertaken, would seem inadequate. The very premise upon which these professional roles are based is an ability to fragment or cut-up a child or a child's system in terms of professional expertise. It is on this basis that we program from disability. We must label, as Whelan has stated, because it is only with these labels that we can define our professional territories within the child. The teacher has some territory, the psychologist and the social worker, too, stake their claim. They generate labels within this territory, based upon professional skills and interests, rather than upon interests and needs of the child. Only by eliminating the professional territories will we be able to truly advocate for the rights of the whole child interacting in his unique ecology. Our most avant-garde writers, in attempting to respond to this dilemma, talk about a need for a greater tolerance of diversity in our culture. The most articulate spokesman for this position is the Marxist philosopher, Herbert Marcuse. Marcuse (1955) calls for a "tolerance of deviance." He claims that, by tolerating deviancy, we can, in fact, extend our own boundaries. This will bring about a modification in our position as programming from a disability viewpoint. I personally do not think Marcuse's position goes far enough, especially in light of the themes in Mr. Thomas's paper. In establishing the black population and the child population as prototypes for new directions in our society, we must go beyond a tolerance for deviance. We must go to an advocacy for deviance. The two most deviant roles in our society today are the black man and the child. If childhood and blackness in fact generate the alternative directions in which our society must go, then the leadership of the society must be morally committed to advocating for these positions previously labeled as deviant. What I am calling for, based upon Mr. Thomas's position, is that both Afro-Americanism in anthropological context and childhood in an experiential context be models of deviance which must be advocated, supported, and integrated into our society.

The advocacy for a wider range of "acceptable behavior" or for the role of the black or the role of the child dictates an end to professional omnipotence. The child, black or white, and his ecology now dictate professional behavior. No longer does the professional take the position where he determines what disability is and what normalcy is. Rather, his role is to observe children, describe in detail the behavior in which they engage and articulate its functionality to the population as a whole. We must support deviance as a basis of our heterogeneous society. This means we cannot look for qualitative differences in individuals as a basis for exclusion from society or encapsulization. Qualitative differences are almost exclusively adjudged on cultural standards. By advocating for deviancy, the professional is no longer bound to such restrictions. There is no "in" group and "out" group. How, then, is the resultant anarchical society saved from complete chaos? This is a question which needs to be carefully examined.

It is imperative that this revolution for which we're calling not be violent but must be constant. Also, other criterion for grouping people on territory must be developed. One suggestion is that of pure quantity. For, where quality fails because of its cultural determinants, quantity is one absolute which can always be fully understood and equally applied. On this basis, one could not exclude an individual from any group on the basis of the quality of his performance, beliefs, or being, but rather upon the logistical consideration of the size of the group. This is the only valid criterion for membership in any human group.

The third theme, then, to which I would like to respond is a program for achieving child advocacy. That is, now that we have a goal for a new direction for socialization in a "celebration of diversity," we need to look at a vehicle for achieving it. It is at this point that I would disagree to some extent with Mr. Thomas. His suggestions, though valid and a response to an undesirable societal condition, are based on the context of present professionalism and credentialism. I would tend to be more revolutionary in approach (Tracy and Gibbins, 1970).

Let us review for a minute, how professionals presently program for children. Service professions are apt to be only tangentially in contact with a child and his ecology. Typically, these professions might be psychology, social work, education, medicine, guidance counselors, etc. At present, these people make decisions about children based upon professional criterion as to the deviation from a normative standard of the individual child with whom they come into contact.

"Come the revolution," I would propose that the first task of all agencies is one of research. This is the first of a cycle of services for each agency--research, program development, delivery of services, and then a re-entry into the second phase research program, redevelopment and a new level of delivery of services. The first level of research is a process whereby critical junctures or decision points have to be discovered. Typical of this may be the decision to place a child previously in the mainstream of education in a special class for the educable mentally handicapped. This is indeed a critical decision point in the child's life, for, depending upon how this decision is made, his whole lifestyle may be cast. The articulation of this type of research in seeking identification of the critical junctures in a child's life has been articulated by Rhodes and Gibbins (1971) in their proposed extension of the research of Jane Mercer. Once the discovery of these critical junctures has been accomplished, we can consider a second phase, that of generating programs from a base of the child's natural ecology as the resource from which the professionals involved can generate alternatives. This involves a thorough understanding of the ecology in which the child operates. It runs counter to present program development which is based upon the correction of a disability or of a lack of skill within the child. These present efforts, which examine the child and attempt to alter him to fit the parameters defined by the profession's expertise, would be replaced by an examination of the child's natural surroundings and the identification within this environment for directions in which the child may choose to grow. This approach is exemplified by the ecological research done by psychologist Roger Barker and his colleagues at the Midwest Field Station in Kansas (Barker 1955).

With an understanding of the child's natural ecology and his background, the next step, that of program development, is the generation of a set of alternatives for the decision point or critical juncture in the child's life. These alternatives or program choices are generated not on the basis of the training or the particular experience of the professionals but rather upon the experience of the child in his setting. This distinction is similar to the one made by Margaret Mead in her work Culture and Commitment (1970) in comparing the tasks of the younger and older generations in our society. Mead proposes that the task of the older generation is one of process while the task of the younger generation is that of content. She indicates that we need to pass on the processes we have mastered but not demand the younger generation to live with the content (values, morals, beliefs, etc.) in which we have developed these processes. We need to allow youth to generate their own content to replace the archaic contextural arena in which we operate. An application of Mead's concept to child-serving agencies dictates that the professional's job is that of summarizing the experiences of the child and articulating and specifying the processes involved. The professional then may identify the alternatives open to the child at that point. Thus, the evolving individualized program is not a narrow one but one which is based on an advocacy for the unique experiences of each child which may be unavailable to the professional.

The third step in our revolutionary re-professionalism has to do with delivery of services. Intrinsic to advocacy and the primary consideration in service delivery is the participation of the child in the decision-making. When the child begins to deal with the alternatives developed in cooperation with the professionals, he must be assured participation in any decision which affects him. Therefore, those professionals concerned with delivery of services must have this consideration foremost in their task. The amount and degree of this participation is determined by the child's ability to handle alternatives, which is in turn contingent upon his developmental level. The child's developmental level of ability may be ascertained by a monotonically decreasing successive approximation method. Such a methodology is necessary, for it is far better to give the child more responsibility than to push him into a self-defeating dependency cycle. It is assumed that, given this freedom, the child will help to specify his own developmental level through his own behavior.

The second important consideration in delivery of services is that the professional must advocate and support the alternative which has been cooperatively chosen by the child. By this I mean that the professional's duty is to rearrange the physical environment and to support in so far as his expertise enables him, the child's new behavior. Efforts should be made so as to allow the child's ecology to likewise support him as he moves through his developmental growth process. If and when such a revolution within professionalism could cast off the archaic shackles of conformity and shatter its idol of great "mean," all children may celebrate the benefits of diversity and share in the nuturance of child advocacy.

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THE DILEMMA OF CHILD ADVOCACY: A REJOINDER TO CHARLES W. THOMAS

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My initial reactions to Dr. Thomas' paper, Child Advocacy: A Model for Social Facilitation, were ones of bewilderment and concern. I had expected a straight-forward definitive statement on the strategy of child advocacy for providers of health services to children by Thomas. Instead, I received the impression that his presentation was an overview of basic social science issues as they related to something called "child advocacy." Granting that first impressions can often be misleading, this paper will focus on what the author believes to be the subtle themes within Thomas' arguments.

It is evident that Dr. Thomas is only tangentially concerned with the development of a system of child advocacy. For the discussion of child advocacy has no significance when separated from the broader issues in his presentation. These issues are presented as indictments of our philosophical, ideological, professional and scientific activities in the delivery of human services. Thomas questions the very learning processes and strategies that have guided our conceptualization of social reality and behavior, which are based on "as if" assumptions or "consensus" models, emulating the drunkard's search Kaplan describes as

> a story of a drunkard searching under a street lamp for his house key, which he had dropped some distance away. Asked why he didn't look where he had dropped it he replied, "It's lighter here!"[1]

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[1] Abraham Kaplan, The Conduct of Inquiry: Methodology for Behavioral Science (Chandler Publishing Company, 1964), p. 11.

These issues are presented in sharp opposition to Thomas' delineation of the Afro-American as a prototype for child advocacy.

The implication here is that there is a need for drastic change in our traditional thought processes. More specifically there is need for revision of operational and conceptual definitions of knowledge and reality in understanding behavior. Otherwise child advocacy becomes little more than just another "label" for old practices which have lost their utility.

Excursus On The Dilemma.[2]

Dr. Thomas has raised some major issues in the methodology of behavioral science which tend to negate the utility of child advocacy as a strategy of intervention, prevention and change, i.e., the issues' operational and conceptual definitions of knowledge and reality. These concerns would appear to be more amenable to resolution if we use the "Sociology of Knowledge" or social philosophy of knowledge as a guide.[3]

One may ask, "What is the Sociology of Knowledge and why is it relevant?" In answering the "what," we will have made the "why" clear. For the sociology of knowledge appears as a revision of our way of looking at ourselves and the world, of our attitude toward the world, of our understanding of it. It gives perspective to a new situation where prior to this the situation was merely new, fascinating and yet threatening. The sociology of knowledge, therefore, may be called an elucidation of a new experience man has had and is still having. Through it, man adjusts to living in one world, and through it he transcends the dualism of man and his unique cultures, challenging his own explorations.[4]

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[2] Before proceeding further it is necessary to deal with the concern generated thus far. It is my hope that this aside will give perspective as well as, clarity to the remainder of this discussion.

[3] For an in-depth treatise on the subject matter, note Kurt Wolff, "The Sociology of Knowledge," in Llewellyn Gross, ed., Symposium on Sociological Theory, (New York: Harper and Row, 1959).

The sociology of knowledge thus transforms a new and threatening experience into a problem. More pointedly, the sociology of knowledge tackles the question of what happens if intellectual processes and products are unmasked as the expression of or in relation to socio-historic circumstance, if intellectual life as such is so unmasked. And the sociology of knowledge must come to terms with this question because this is precisely what has actually happened. It has to come to terms with what it has realized to have happened in the modern world.[5]

Without getting further into the polemics of the sociology of knowledge, suffice it to say that reality is socially constructed and that the sociology of knowledge must analyze the processes in which this occurs.[6] "Reality" shall be defined as a quality appertaining to phenomena which we recognize as having a being independent of our own volition and "knowledge" as the certainty that phenomena are real and that they possess specific characteristics.

Therefore, as Berger and Luckmann contend, the sociology of knowledge is concerned with the analysis of the social construction of reality.[7] Furthermore, they contend that it is concerned with the relationship between human thought and the social context within which it arises; that it is concerned with everything that passes for "knowledge" in society; and that it must first of all be concerned with what people "know" as "reality" in their everyday, non- or pre-theoretical lives.

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[4] Ibid, p. 584.

[5] Karl Mannheim, Ideology and Utopia, (New York: Harnest Books, 1936).

[6] For those interested in the dangerous aspects of the sociology of knowledge, note Karl Marx, Selected Writings in Sociology and Social Philosophy, eds. T.B. Bottomore and Maximilien Rubel, (London: Watts, 1956). It is Marx who gave it its debunking and critical view.

[7] Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann, The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge, Anchor Books, 1967.

Application of Knowledge and Implications for Child Advocacy

> Question: "What is the difference between capitalism and communism?" Answer: "In capitalism man exploits man and in communism the reverse holds true."

This Russian saying reflects the dilemma of child advocacy as a viable system in the delivery of human services. We must begin by questioning whether child advocacy is just another name for the kind of folly created in other areas of human service. This leads to asking whether we really have an advocacy system of any kind, or do we have instead an elaborate adversary system characterized by highly sophisticated "buckpassing" and inaction, which maintains status quo arrangements. If we loosely define advocacy as a system or subsystem of intervention, prevention and constructive change, then with referance to those who really need such a delivery system, we can say that it has practically been nonexistent at best. At worst, it has served to perpetuate systematic oppression.

This phenomenon has been eloquently studied and documented so we cannot hide behind the excuse of not knowing what the problems are any longer. In The Other America Revisited, Michael Harrington describes the basic problems confronting the poor (including blacks) as the relative deprivation from the distribution of goods and services.[8] Here the gap between the "American Dream" and "reality" come into sharp conflict. The war on poverty has done little to stem the tide of frustration and bitterness toward the social system despite the growing movement of the system into "self-consciousness."

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[8] Michael Harrington, "The Other America Revisited," in The Establishment and All That, The Center For the Study of Democratic Institutions, Santa Barbara, California, 1970.

If Harrington's observations of the "reality" of the present state of the war on poverty are correct, it would be difficult to argue against any indictment of our professional and scientific activities in this area. We should be aware of the failure of antipoverty programs in addressing ourselves to any strategy of child advocacy and use this knowledge to make it workable. For while we can say that the social system is moving in a more responsive direction, the effect is negligible when we use outmoded methodology under the guise of a new label. This would only serve to further the present conflict.

Dr. Thomas seems to be particularly concerned with our inability to learn from past mistakes. He talks about the myths and romanticized views of children in Western society which are not supported by the facts. Indeed, one must question whether we really care about children given the present state of affairs. Furthermore, he attributes many of the inconsistencies regarding child advocacy to the use of old value structures which are resistant to change, perpetuate the status quo, prevent creativity and self-actualization of the individual. Accordingly, these are associated with inferiority and systematic racism in referring to the Afro-American, the poor and other minority groups and their social history.

More to the point, once systems of ethnic stratification are created they tend to endure. When systems of ethnic stratification break up, a reorganization occurs which makes minority people more able to compete in the social system.[9] Ethnic stratification is viewed as an ongoing process of becoming. It is one aspect of community organization.

The Individual and Community In Child Advocacy

Child advocacy as a strategy or model is dependent on the linkages between individuals and the community. Ergo, we should direct our attention to understanding the processes involved rather than the social structures within the community. By concentrating on process, social structures develop which have a dynamic and flexible quality. Thus the system can more adequately deal with the delivery of human services.

For any system of child advocacy to work one must have an understanding of the community and be able to use community forces. It is in the concept of community that one finds life and its dynamics.

Donald Klein notes that in the community one finds personal and institutional supports.[10] He states that because intervention strategies attempt to influence the community, we must understand the behavior within it. The behavior concerns (1) maintenance of physical and social environment, (2) finding help and support at times of stress and (3) ways individuals gain a sense of self and social worth. If follows that if one does not understand the processes of community life, advocacy is doomed to failure.

When we consider that the movement of people through time and space has been accomplished with relative ease, it is easy to understand that the

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[9] Shibutani and Kwan, Ethnic Stratification, (New York: Holt, Rinehart, Winston, 1966).

[10] Donald Klein, "Community: Who Needs It?," Psychology Today, December 1969.

"quest for community" is one of our prime socio-psychological forces. Taken in this vein, Dr. Thomas' delineation of the Afro-American as a prototype for child advocacy merits closer examination. Due to the socio-historic circimstance of the black man, the discriminatory practices have placed the black community in the position of being together, in every sense of the word "community."

IV. THE ECOLOGICAL VIEW OF MENTAL RETARDATION AND RELATED DISABILITIES

Stella Chess, M.D.
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ECOLOGICAL APPROACH TO MENTAL RETARDATION AND DEVELOPMENTAL DISABILITIES

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The ecological approach views the individual in continuous interaction with the environment. The individual can never be considered apart from his environment, and the effective aspects of environment can never be identified except in relation to a specific individual with his specific attributes.

In psychology and psychiatry this view has been characterized as "interactionist," a term which has been in use before "ecology" became popular. Interactionist formulations can be found in the work of Pavlov (1927), Schneirla (1961), Lewin (1935) and Stern (1927), among others.

Pavlov emphasized the decisive role in behavioral development of conditioned reflexes formed as the result of the interaction of specific stimuli from the environment and a central nervous system with its own characteristics of functioning. As a product of this interaction, there emerged adaptive patterns of functioning and nervous systems with various types of reactivity. Schneirla and his school (1961), proceeding from the phylogenetic and ontogenetic analysis of species-typical behavior, have indicated that "behavior is typified by reciprocal stimulative relationships . . . Behavioral development, because it centers on and depends upon reciprocal stimulative processes between female and young, is essentially social from the start. Mammalian behavioral development is best conceived as a unitary system of processes changing progressively under the influence of an intimate interrelationship of factors of maturation and of experience - with maturation defined as the developmental contributions of tissue growth and differentiation and their secondary processes, experience as the effects of stimulation and its organic traces on behavior."

Lewin (1935) and Stern (1927), although basing themselves upon somewhat different theoretical foundations, share a concern with continuous interactive processes in the development of perceptual, cognitive, and motivational functions in the child.

These interactionist views are in contrast to those of psychoanalysis and ethology. Both these groups postulate the existence in the organism of spontaneous forms of energy and drive-states, which exist prior to and independently of life experiences and which are basic forces in behavior and psychological development. Environmental forces are then considered to influence psychological organization by determining the directions taken by these primary drives and energies, by specifying the objects on which they become fixed, and by delineating the concrete forms in which they appear through environmental facilitation or inhibition. The concept of the projection of innate forces from within the organism outward onto the environment, which then direct and fix their specific forms and object relationships, is fundamental to the theoretical systems of both psychoanalysis and ethology.

In our own long-term studies of normal and eviant behavioral development of four separate populations of children (middle-class, Puerto Rican working class, children born prematurely, and a mentally retarded group) we have tried to maintain an interactionist approach. In considering the child-environment interaction we have used two concepts:

1. Goodness of fit. This concept, formulated by Henderson (1913), proved to be very helpful in understanding the diverse adaptations of our study children. As we have stated (Thomas, Chess and Birch 1968), "this concept implied that the adequacy of an organism's functioning is dependent upon the degree to which the properties of its environment are in accord with the organism's own characteristics and style of behaving." In a "good fit," the organism can meet

the environmental requirements in an organized manner either because it already has the competence to do so or because it acquires such competence in response to the environmental demand. In a "poor fit," the organism can neither meet the environmental requirements nor acquire the competence to do so; it responds to the demands in a distorted manner or with developmental retrogression. In order to apply this conceptual framework, one must assess both the abilities of the organism and the nature of the environmental demands.

2. Consonance and dissonance. When a demand upon an organism, even if quite difficult, is consonant with its characteristics and capacities, there will result expanded environmental mastery; the demand will have provided a healthy stimulus. But when the demand is beyond the child's ability to master it, continuation of the demand constitutes excessive stress and may lead to behavioral disturbance.

Thus, demands and stresses, when consonant with developmental potentials, may have constructive consequences and should not be regarded as inevitably leading to behavioral disturbance. The same is true of conflict, which can contribute to stress, but which may be resolved in either a healthy or an unhealthy direction. The issue is one of excessive stress. The causes of excessive stress leading to disturbed behavioral functioning can perhaps be best subsumed under the rubric of dissonances.

Several types of dissonance may contribute to the development of disturbed functioning:

a. Dissonance between the parental practices or demands and the child's temperament or capacities.

b. Dissonance between values and behaviors developed in the home and behavioral expectancies at school and in peer groups.

c. Inconsistencies in the patterning of parental practices and attitudes, resulting in excessive stress for the child.

d. Interparental dissonance and the use of the child's characteristics as a weapon in interparental conflict.

e. Dissonance between the child's expectations of acceptance and parental behavior.

f. Dissonance between the mode of functioning of the teacher or other person in loco parentis and the characteristics of the child.

These concepts have been especially useful in our study of mentally retarded children, whose intellectual handicaps increase the possibility of poorness of fit and dissonance. The six-year study* involved a relatively homogeneous group of fifty-two mentally retarded children between the ages of 5.0 and 11.11 years, all from middle-class families and living at home. Their mental ages ranged from 4.0 to 6.0 years, and their IQ's from fifty to seventy-five. The children's inability to fulfill normal academic expectations had been identified in the preschool period or very early grades, and these youngsters had been placed either in special classes in public schools or in private schools with curricula adapted to their slower learning abilities.

Our interactionist view led us to study those attributes of the mentally retarded child that are actively involved in an interplay with environmental demands and expectations, determining the level of behavioral functioning and the development of behavior disorder. Simultaneously we were concerned with the types of demands made and the help given by parents, siblings and teachers. We were not concerned with trying to identify presumed unconscious intrapsychic drives or conflicts in parent or child which according to some theorists underlie and determine behavior.

We defined the following attributes of the child: 1) intellectual quotient as determined in standardizing testing; 2) the presence, nature and degree of neurological damage; 3) temperament; and 4) level and capacity of functioning in ordinary daily tasks.

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* This study Behavioral Study of Mentally Retarded Children, was carried out under NIMH Grants MH-08054 and MH 12711-02

Intellectual Quotient

The IQ number is the official indicator of intellectual retardation. Yet the IQ is a poor predictor, except in a gross way, of the level of future functioning and adaptation. The Manual on Terminology and Classification in Mental Retardation of the American Journal of Mental Deficiency points out that while there may be frequent individual discrepancies between levels of measured intelligence on formal intelligence tests and level of adaptative behavior, the lack of suitable measurements of the latter make it impractical to take it into account in the categorization of retardates. Thus, official classification, used also by the American Psychiatric Association, remains based on IQ number as distributed along a normal curve.

Even if one classifies mental retardation on the basis of intellectual quotient, without other measures of general adaptation, this will have little significance unless it is within an interactionist framework. Thus, an IQ score of 85 (assuming the score is reliable) may have a very different significance for a child growing up on a small farm than for a child in an upper middle-class professional family in the suburbs. The first child, living in a community that does not demand a high level of education, may grow up with little stress, learn to do routine farm chores quite adequately and live out his life competently. The second child, unable to meet his family's expectations for academic achievement, will be considered inferior to his siblings and other children in the community, and at best will have to attend special schools, thus underlining his differences from his peer group.

The necessity to evaluate the significance of the IQ in relation to academic demands is so clear that it is responsible for the epigram that the major cause of mental retardation is compulsory education. This is so much the case that a major portion of mildly and moderately retarded children attending clinics drop out of these clinics once they finish going to school.

Neurological Damage

Our study screened out neurologically damaged children who had difficulties mastering environmental demands because of insufficient motor strength or control. However, there were still twenty-four youngsters in the sample who showed soft neurological signs and/or had clinical histories warranting the designation of neurological pathology. While the children's neurological status did not produce significant stress in terms of motor competence, there were behavioral indications of cerebral dysfunction in addition to the intellectual retardation in eleven cases. Criteria for this designation of cerebral dysfunction were 1) independent evidence of neurological impairment, 2) a significant degree of deviant behavior, and 3) a clinical evaluation that such deviant behavior did not appear either reactive or neurotic. The independent evidence of neurological impairment included such findings as convulsions, poor coordination, poor muscle tone, hyperreflexia. Behavioral symptoms in the youngsters who fulfilled the criteria fitted into such categories as motility disturbances, compulsions, perseverations, and problems of mood control. The frequency of these behaviors and their relationship to the clinical evaluation has been charted.

Table 1

Abnormal behaviors correlated with neurological abnormality and psychiatric diagnosis of Cerebral Dysfunction (Chronic Brain Syndrome)

	Neurol.finding Positive	Psychiatric Dx. of Cerebral Dysfunction	Other psych. pathology Dysfunction	No psych. disorder*
	Total 24 cases	Total 11 cases	Total 20 cases	Total 21 cases
Restlessness and Excessive Motor Activity 30	15	10	14	6
Repetitive Aimless Motor Activities 27	13	8	11	8
Explosive Activity 4	3	3	1	0
Obsessional Behavior 15	8	6	4	5
Stereotyped Play 10	2	2	6	2
Unusual Seeking of Sensory Experience 15	6	3	7	5

* The last three columns are mutually exclusive categories and add up to the total study sample of fifty-two cases. The first column (Neurological Findings Positive) overlaps with the cases in the three other columns.

These findings have been reported elsewhere (Chess and Hassibi 1970). The table indicates that various abnormal behaviors may be associated with cerebral dysfunction or psychiatric pathology or may be present without any significant psychiatric disorder. In some cases the behavioral deviations which appear to be a direct result of cerebral dysfunction are so extreme in their manifestation that the development of a psychiatric disorder appeared inevitable. For example, if a child has intense prolonged tantrums which were triggered by even slight modifications of routine demands or a familiar environment, it might not be possible for any family to order its functioning so as to prevent the frequent occurrence of such tantrums. However, in other cases the behavioral deviation was less extreme and less rigid and it could have been possible to make environmental modifications resulting in a goodness of fit for the child even with his intellectual limitation and deviant behavior.

Temperament

Temperament refers to the how of behavior. It differs from ability, which is concerned with the what and how well of behaving, and from motivation, which seeks to account for why a person does what he is doing. Two children may each eat skillfully or throw a ball with accuracy and have the same motives in so doing. Yet, they may differ with respect to the intensity with which they act, the rate at which they move, the mood which they express, the readiness with which they shift to a new activity, and the ease with which they will approach a new toy, situation, or playmate.

Temperament is not immutable. Like any other characteristic of the organism, its features can undergo a developmental course that will be significantly affected by environmental circumstances. In this respect it is not different from height, weight, intellectual competence, or any other characteristic of the individual and, as is the case for all such characteristics, the intially identified pattern of the young child may be relatively unchanged by environmental influences, or it may be reinforced and heightened, diminished, or otherwise modified during the developmental course.

The significance of temperament for a child's development, whether normal or disturbed, can be considered only in relationship to a child's environment. Temperament in itself does not determine specific types of personality. Nor does it directly define the nature of emotional disturbance when this occurs. Rather, it plays a part in structuring the character of the child's responses to enviromental stimuli and life experiences along certain lines. The final behavior, adaptational mechanisms, and type of personality structure evolve out of the continual process of interaction of temperament and environment.

Our first and most extensive study of temperament has been done with a sample of 136 middle-class intellectually normal children followed from birth onward in the New York Longitudinal Study. The basic data were obtained by parental and teacher interviews and observations of the child at home and at school. Nine categories of temperament were developed by inductive analysis, as follows:

1. Activity Level: the motor component present in a given child's functioning and the diurnal proportion of active and inactive periods. In scoring this category, we use protocol data on motility during bathing, eating, playing, dressing and handling, as well as information concerning the sleep-wake cycle, reaching, crawling and walking.
2. Rhythmicity (Regularity): the predictability and/or the unpredictability in time of any function. It can be analyzed in relation to the sleep-wake cycle, hunger, feeding pattern and elimination schedule.
3. Approach or Withdrawal: the nature of the response to a new stimulus, be it a new food, new toy or new person.
4. Adaptability: response to new or altered situations. The concern here is not with the nature of the initial responses, but the ease with which they are modified in desired directions.
5. Threshold of Responsiveness: the intensity level of stimulation that is necessary to evoke a discernible response, irrespective of the specific form that the response may take, or the sensory modality affected. The behaviors utilized are those concerning reactions to sensory stimuli, environmental objects, and social contacts.

6. Intensity of Reaction: the energy level of response, irrespective of its quality or direction.

7. Quality of Mood: the amount of pleasant, joyful and friendly behavior, as contrasted with unpleasant, crying and unfriendly behavior.

8. Distractibility: the effectiveness of extraneous environmental stimuli in interfering with or in altering the direction of the ongoing behavior.

9. Attention Span and Persistence: two categories which are related. Attention span concerns the length of time a particular activity is pursued by the child. Persistence refers to the continuation of an activity in the face of obstacles and to the maintenace of the activity direction.

The detailed criterion method for scoring the nine categories of temperament have been reported elsewhere (Thomas, Chess et al. 1963, Thomas, Chess and Birch 1968).

Temperamental qualities in intellectually normal children are clearly related to the development of behavior disorders. This is particularly evident when clusters of temperamental traits are considered. A group of traits - irregularity in biological functions, tendency to withdraw from new stimuli, nonadaptability or slow adaptability to change, negative mood and predominantly intense reactions - make for a high probability of dissonant environmental interaction and maladaptive outcomes. We have called children exhibiting this combination of temperamental characteristics "difficult children." Children with the opposite cluster of characterisitics we have called "easy children." The stressful demands for these children were typically those of socialization, that is, demands for varying their spontaneous patterns to conform to the rules of living within the family, school and peer group - all of high importance to our retarded youngsters.

When the various temperamental attributes are considered in clusters, some pertinent differences between the retarded and intellectually normal children emerge. We compared the frequency with which the five temperamental qualities contributing to the "difficult child" syndrome (irregularity, withdrawal, nonadaptability or slow adaptability to change, negative mood and predominantly intense reactions) appeared in our retarded children and in the New York Longitudinal Study youngsters at age five. Using each temperamental quality as a "sign" we derived the percentage of children with two, three, four and five signs of the difficult child.

More retarded than non-retarded children (10% vs 6%) showed the complete cluster of five vulnerable temperamental attributes. There was virtual equality in the distribution of four such signs (19% vs 18%). The finding of three such signs was more characterisitic of the non-retarded children (29%) than of the retarded children (13%). And the distribution of two such signs was approximately equal, occurring in 25% of the non-retarded as compared to 23% of the retarded sample.

The frequency of the number of signs becomes more important when it is related to the incidence of behavior disorder. All of the five retarded children who had all five signs of the difficult child proved to have behavior disorders. Of the fifteen who had four or more sings, only two were without behavior disorder. Of the twenty-two who had three or more signs, only three had no disturbance. Three signs may, therefore, be taken as an index of risk. In the group of thirty-one behavior problem children, all but twelve had three signs or more.

In addition to its relevance to the development of behavior disorders, temperament can significantly influence a child's academic performance. In order to examine the relationship between temperament and measured academic achievement (determined by the Wide Range Achievement Test, 1946 edition, administered to each child three years after the initial data were collected), the children were characterized according to the temperamental attributes derived from the interview and observation reports. We used a simple dichotomy and described each child as being in the upper (first or second quartile) or in the lower (third or fourth quartile) half of the group in any given category of temperament. We then tested the relationship between a child's temperament and academic achievement by comparing his "location" in the temperamental trait (upper or lower half) and in academic achievement (high or low achievement).

The half of the group with more than four of the eight temperamental traits of high activity, regularity, adaptability, high threshold, approach, positive mood, persistence and non-distractibility were, in our group, more often associated with high rather than low academic achievement. Of the ten children who had five or more of these eight traits, 90% were in the high achievement group. Of the fourteen children with four or fewer of these traits, eleven or 79% were in the low achievement group.

We then examined the signs of the difficult child in relation to school achievement. Of the twenty-two children in this sample of fifty-two mentally retarded children who have three, four or five signs of the difficult child, only two were in the high achieving group, seven were in the low group and thirteen were either not testable or were very uneven in their spelling and reading achievement scores. However, this relationship is not a simple one, as the reverse picture was not so clear. Of the thirty children with none, one or two of these five signs, only ten were in the high achievement group, the remainder being low achievers, uneven or not testable. Thus the specific manner in which temperamental traits influence the child's academic achievement requires further exploration.

Level and Capacity

It is now recognized that the IQ has limited value as a measure of a retarded child's level of behavioral and social functioning and as a predictor of his future capacity, i.e., his maximum level of performance. While such an estimate of maximum functioning is very useful in predicting what a child will be able to do under optimal conditions, it does not answer the crucial question of what his level of performance is in day-to-day activity. Unfortunately, the level of routine performance does not always correspond with capability and this discrepancy can be especially a problem with the retarded. All too often a handicapped youngster, carefully trained to achieve optimal performance under certain circumstances, cannot maintain this level of functioning once he is separated from these precise circumstances. Furthermore, a child's ability to master new demands depends to a large extent on the repertoire of habitual performance that he can bring to bear on this new demand.

The importance of considering both capacity and performance in mentally retarded children and the relationship between the two measures has been emphasized in the cognitive area by Bortner and Birch (1970). They conclude that "performance levels under particular conditions are but fragmentary indicators of capacity. Possessed concepts and skills, and particular conceptual abilities, as well as levels of learning when manifested in performance, all reflect the interaction between possessed potentialities and the particular conditions of training and task demand. Glaring differences occur in the estimates of potential when meaningful alterations are made in the conditions for performance. It is clear that we have but begun to explore the universe of conditions for learning and performance which will facilitate most effectively the expression of the potentialities for adaptation which exist in mentally subnormal children. Clearly the most effective facilitation of development will be dependent on the ingenuity with which such conditions are elaborated. It is to be hoped that placing this question in the broader context of psychology will contribute to the invention of more effective strategies for training and for the maximization of competence".

To differentiate between capability level and the level of routine peformance we developed protocols for obtaining detailed information about each child's functioning in the areas of dressing, eating, personal hygiene, toileting, participation in household routines, neighborhood motility, and the use of familiar objects. Our findings emphasize the gap between capability and actual performance in the mentally retarded. Despite the relatively favorable environmental circumstances of the youngsters in our sample, the upper half of the group in capability level failed to carry out regularly at least 25% of the self-help skills they actually could do. We also found that capability is significantly related to CA (.49) and MA (.61), while performance is not. IQ per se is also not related to either CA or MA alone. Thus, capability level can apparently be predicted from chronological age and mental age, but the relationship between capacity and IQ as well as between performance and the other ability measures is not greater than chance expectancy.

We also analyzed the relationship between a child's temperamental characteristics and his levels of capability and performance. We found very little relationship between temperament and capability. Only the category Adaptability showed a positive correlation; of the 28 children in the upper half of the group in adaptability, only seven (25%) were among the children below the median or in the lower half of the group in capability. None of the children in the less adaptable half of the group were in the most capable brackets.

On the other hand, performance level shows a distinct correlation with several temperamental traits. Children who are more adaptable, more positive in mood and more mild in the intensity of their reactions tend to be among those with higher performance levels. Of the twenty-six chilren who are in the upper half of the group in adaptability, 65% are in the upper (more positive) half in mood, and 58% are in the milder half in intensity.

Our findings suggest that, in some cases at least, this gap between capability and performance might be bridged by taking the child's temperamental characteristics into account in training and educational procedures. For example, a child with slow and difficult adaptation to the new will require a program of gradual introduction into a new play, school or work situation if he is to use a newly acquired skill effectively. In contrast, a child who adapts quickly and positively to the new may be able to plunge immediately into a new setting and still maintain his optimal capacity on a day-to-day basis.

Parental Functioning

Up to this point the findings and discussions have focused primarily on the child's characteristics. This emphasis is necessary in order to offset the prevailing psychiatric formulations that one-sidedly stress environmental factors, especially the impact of the mother and other intrafamilial influences. In the field of mental retardation this bias has typically led to exhortation of the mother to love and accept her child as much as she does her other children. Together with this goes the judgment, sometimes implicit, sometimes openly stated, that difficulties is managing the child must reflect a lack of such love and acceptance.

Along with other investigators, we question the value and accuracy of considering parental characteristics in terms of such global intrapsychic labels as loving, accepting, and rejecting. Of course, a mother's love and acceptance are crucial influences, but they are not all determining. Also many mothers cannot be characterized in such an oversimplistic fashion. They may be loving at one time and not at another. They may accept only certain of their childrens' behaviors. They may be overprotective in some situations but not in others. Moreover, it is not enough to find out how parents feel; it is just as important to define what they actually do and fail to do with the child. What they do can usually be determined much more objectively and reliably than how they feel.

In our study, we have defined the parents' characterisitics especially in terms of the manner in which they offered help to the child and the manner in which the child responded. We have used categories such as "help in spite of capability," "reminds but gives no other assistance," "encourages to self-help." The child's response to parental offers of help we have labeled as "accepts help," "refuses help," "accepts help with protest," and "refuses help and shows overt anger." Correlative analyses have been done between the type of parental offer of help and the child's response, as well as between these ratings and IQ, MA, CA and temperament. Some statistical correlations have emerged but their functional meanings are still under study.

These quantitative methods of rating parental functioning were supplemented by qualitative judgments based on a culling of all the available data on the child's characteristics and the development of behavior problems in individual cases. Where a behavior disorder had developed it was possible in this fashion to trace its origin and development in terms of an excessively stressful dissonance between environmental demands and expectations and the child's capacities. Influential environmental factors included not only parental functioning but also other aspects of the home situation and of the larger social environment.

Parental Guidance

An ecological approach to the problems of mentally retarded children seeks not only to identify environmental demands that are excessively stressful but also to identify a program that appropriately modifies these demands. A program for alleviating stress must first of all consider such generally accepted approaches as perceptual training, specific remedial education, and drug treatment or psychotherapy in selected cases. An approach which we found especially important and which has received relatively scant attention in literature is parent guidance.

Parent guidance has to be distinguished from parent therapy, in which attempts are made to change the presumed intrapsychic disturbances or complexes within the parent himself which may be related to difficulties in handling the child. Such parent treatment is occassionally necessary, but it is so lengthy and makes such great demands on professional resources that it should be restricted to those instances in which substantial psychopathology in the parent is evident. In most cases parent therapy is not necessary, and guidance can be helpful and sometimes very important.

The basic emphasis in parent guidance is on change in the parent's behavior and overtly expressed attitudes, as well as on enlisting the parent's help in altering other unfavorable environmental influences. The goal, in other words, is to change specific aspects of the parent's actual functioning with the child, but not to delineate or attempt to change directly covert attitudes or defense mechanisms. This type of guidance was utilized in thirty-one cases involving either behavior disorders or cerebral dysfunction and with a number of other parents who sought advice for specific problems of adaptation that retarded children were showing. In each case guidance procedures required only several discussions. Follow-up, six months later, was done with thirty-seven cases to judge the effectiveness of these guidance procedures. Twenty-four parents felt the interview as helpful, particularly because the concrete management advice had been beneficial or because the discussion of the child's temperamental traits helped them to deal with these characteristics in a more understanding and appropriate manner. Of the eight parents who did not find the informing interview helpful, several felt they had been told nothing new and expressed disappointment in not being given a "magic" solution. The remaining parents considered the interview only partially helpful.

We have also had encouraging results with parents of intellectually normal children who had behavior disorders. It appears that most parents are able to cooperate in a parent guidance program. When this is accomplished, parents and professional workers can truly become allies in helping the retarded child to achieve the maximum level of functioning within his limitations.

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RESPONSE TO DR. STELLA CHESS' PAPER

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I agree with Dr. Chess when she says that the necessity to evaluate the significance of the IQ in relation to academic demands is so clear that it gives rise to the epigram that the major cause of mental retardation is compulsory education. I believe that Dr. Mercer documented that case in her paper last year. For Dr. Mercer, one is only retarded when he is in school (and I'm talking about the mild mental retardate), and only in those schools which have mental retardation programs. I agree with Dr. Chess in her concept of "goodness of fit" and her explanation that this concept implies that the adequacy of an organism's functioning is dependent on the degree to which the properties of its environment are in accord with the organism's own characteristics and style of behaving.

However, I do ask Dr. Chess to be true to her own concepts. In this respect, I ask that she not reduce environment to mere interpersonal relations between parent and child. When we're talking about the properties of the environment, we refer to the ekos, or the housing of the child. Specifically, when talking about IQ, the ekos of the child is the school. IQ is a school embedded, a school relevant and a school determinant concept. And if this is true, as was pointed out in Dr. Mercer's work last year, then without the inclusion of the school in the equation of the child and environment, mental retardation would not exist as a reality for the majority of children so categorized.

This leads me to another observation, Dr. Chess, that the population you selected of fifty-two mentally retarded children is an atypical sample of children within the intelligence test range of fifty to seventy-five because they came from middle-class homes. If we were dealing with a representative group of children whose test scores were in that range, we would be dealing with poor children. And by poor I do not mean only children of certain races. One of the things that I am very conscious of as a southern immigrant to the Midwest is that the majority of children that I see in special classes around the state are also white southern immigrants. I suspect that a lot has to do with the cultural differences, so I don't think that the cultural differences are unique to only particular racial groups.

There's another question raised for me in Dr. Chess' paper which is sort of tangential to the business of joint participation of the school system and the child in the problem of mental retardation. And this is the question of the extent to which a disability model is the most useful model for an ecological approach to child problems. As a clinician, Dr. Chess automatically employs a disability model in her research, and looks at behavior in terms of positive neurological findings, psychiatric findings of cerebral dysfunction and other psychiatric pathology. While one can certainly not deny a psychiatric or a biophysical component in many cases where child problems are identified, I propose that a deviation or an alienation model may have served Dr. Chess' purposes better. Unlike disability, deviation or alienation does not necessarily imply a departure from an absolute biological, physiological or genetic norm. Rather, it deals with the problem of child difficulties directly at the level in which Dr. Chess has stated her problem. That is, "that the adequacy of an organism's functioning is dependent upon the degree to which the properties of its environment are in accord with the organism's own characteristics and style of behaving." This statement of the problem as dissonance between properties of the environment and characteristics of behavior style of the organism is an alienation or deviation statement. It clearly implicates both the organism and the environment as part of the problem transaction, whereas the disability concept does not automatically implicate the environment as a co-contributor.

One could just as easily argue, as some of the early ecologists, the Burgess and Park group, Faris and Dunham, Jenkins and Brown, that the prior condition of pathology lies in the environment. In other words, the environment is pathological and what we're seeing in children is a normal adaptive response to a destructive or disorganized environment. Many theorists and researchers argue in that vein. However, I think a simpler and more direct descriptive concept of the dissonance between properties in the environment and the behavior of the organism is an interdependency as well as an interaction concept.

If, as Dr. Chess says, we have to begin exploring the universal conditions for learning and performance which will realize more effectively the potentialities for adaptations which exist in children, then we have to concentrate upon that universe of conditions rather than upon properties within the child. The elaborate diagnosis of disability in the child would seem extremely peripheral to that task. Much more to the point is Dr. Chess' discussion of redesigning learning settings and training and educational procedures to fit the range of temperamental characteristics in children. I have a strong suspicion, however, that in correlating certain temperamental traits with high performance, Dr. Chess was measuring cultural biases in favor of certain types of children. Whether this is a cultural bias or not, it's true that there are large numbers of children who do not possess this ideal cluster of temperamental characteristics to fit adequately into the school situation. This is true not only of mentally retarded children but many children who are not achieving according to school expectations.

This being the case, it's urgent that we begin the task which Dr. Chess says is so important and stop measuring minute disabilities in children. At least we must stop devoting so many resources to measuring disabilities in children which do not render immediate clues regarding the appropriate redesign of the universal conditions for learning and performance which will facilitate more effectively the expression of potentialities in the child. As Dr. Chess says, clearly the most effective facilitation of development will be dependent on the ingenuity with which such conditions are designed. It's my hope that Dr. Chess will turn her ingenuity to an elaboration of these conditions. Here there is a terrible void in research literature. I seriously doubt that these conditions can be tackled indirectly, either by measuring disabilities in children or by concentrating exclusively on the interactions between parents and child.

Dr. Chess, you've been a very important trail-blazer. You've helped get us out of the endless regress toward which psychodynamic theory was taking us. You've also made explicit the importance of the active determinants of the environment in creating and maintaining child problems. It's my hope that you'll go further and explore the interaction terrain which you've pointed out. I'd like to see you move your methodology and your investigations into the full ecology of children's lives. You could help teach us how to apply the clinical methodology to the natural setting and to its tremendous impact on children's lives. It seems particularly important in the area of mental retardation and particularly important at this time in our history.

ECOLOGICAL PROGRAMS GO BEYOND CLINICAL SERVICES

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Dr. Chess has presented descriptive data which have definite implications for an ecological point of view. Her work, however, as I see is not ecological. She has revised the range and type of variables usually defined as clinical research, but the premises, methods and style of her research derive from the clinical perspective. For clinical services to be viewed as ecological new criteria are needed. An ecological perspective requires that the topics of development, adaptation, and personal effectiveness generate from inquiries into how persons behave in natural settings. The ecological approach develops research and the design of preventive services that diverge from previous approaches to the study of individual differences. For example, the criterion for observing behavior in ecological studies is derived from natural settings, in contrast to contrived settings (Barker 1965, Willems and Raush 1969). Secondly, the behavior of persons and settings is expected to vary from place to place (Raush, et al 1960). Third, individual adaptation is viewed as a dynamic process that is mutual and reciprocal between the individual and the environment (Kelly 1966, 1968, 1969, 1970). These premises require distinct approaches for verifying knowledge and include as critical, data responses to natural conditions. The investigator, for example, must himself be actually present where the person spends his time. Furthermore, the methods for observing and reporting behavior are simultaneously derived from an assessment of the unique conditions of the person and the environment. The relationship between the investigator and the natural environment also requires that the investigator define new means to assess his personal influence on the "study" of the environment. Ecological research then goes to the environments, and often involves inconveniences and risks to the comfort, the status and the personal ideologies of the investigator.

In reading over Dr. Chess' paper, I do not find consistent examples of her research that are congruent with these ideas of performing ecological research. Her work focuses rather upon individual differences of youngsters, including some provocative information on how her subjects interact with the environment. Her methods focus upon an assessment of how individuals respond to one or two settings, and her research methods are administered primarily in controlled field conditions in her office or in the home. The question for Dr. Chess seems to be "How do the children respond to predetermined variables?" An ecological question is 'What do the children do when they are in their natural settings?"

Two of the guiding ideas mentioned by Dr. Chess, goodness of fit and dissonance, are ideas which refer most closely to her interest in relating intrapsychic variables to environmental topics. Goodness of fit is interpreted as a synonym for congruity between the person and the environment. The application of this idea most often is not ecological. When incongruity is noted, it is the person who is viewed as the casualty; the social setting is less often viewed as maladaptive. As I see it, Dr. Chess's use of the term goodness of fit relates to her attempt to take a new look at individual differences, emphasizing how the individual fits for better or worse. The concept of dissonance, referring to the motivational or feeling states of individuals experiencing discomfort with their environment as Dr. Chess uses the term, also refers to the individual. Goodness of fit, a descriptive term, and Dissonance, an inferential term, are two concepts employed by Dr. Chess to help interpret personal responses to specific environments. These two terms also can be employed as ecological concepts, and the implications are quite different. First, a study of the functions of various environments and how they effect persons would be undertaken. Secondly, a sampling of these environments per se would be required. These two procedures are necessary in order to identify which persons, in what settings, do and do not perform to the demands of the environment. With these data available, individual performances can be related to environmental variables in order to determine whether goodness of fit is individually and environmentally determined. The ecological perspective is useful because it insures that possible sources of poor fit can be determined from the environment or the interaction of person and environment and not just the individual. This point of view is particularly salient to the development of mental retardation services. If it were possible to determine the environmental demands upon a person, we could be in a better situation to see how the social world of the retardate might be designed and administered in a way to help fulfill the adaptive requirements for the individual. This would allow social settings to be arranged so as to help a person cope successfully in dealing with real tasks that are demanded of him. Such settings could provide regulated opportunities for immediate and clear rewards for individual success at increasingly difficult tasks. Such social settings could then become a place to evaluate the validity of a specific goodness of fit. An ecological perspective says that fit is relative, and what is needed is to know the functions of the social setting before labeling the person.

Dr. Chess has suggested in her paper some provocative ideas for documenting individual differences in temperment. Each of the variables she has suggested, intensity of action, rate of physical movement, expressed mood, readiness of shifting activity, ease of responding to novel stimuli, etc., are particularly useful for defining how environmental demands affect or require different qualities. These variables are not only useful for assessing individual differences in levels of interaction, but they also can provide varied opportunities for expressing these characteristics. Such information is particularly helpful for understanding the expression of tantrums, a frequent behavior expressed by the mentally retarded. Such analyses could illustrate how complex, unstructured, noisy or unfamiliar settings could have a higher probability for generating tantrums than more cognitively simple, routine, familiar or quiet settings. Such an approach could also document the tolerances for the amount and level of activity that can be effectively coped with during the day by different persons. Such an approach could also help to clarify findings such as those reported by Dr. Chess where children with high levels of intellectual capacity could not perform routine tasks. The negative correlation she reports is deceptive if taken at face value. While this negative correlation might suggest that the common variance is related to divergent cognitive or intellectual factors, in fact such discrepancies might as easily be related to socialization experiences, or to the noxious effects of social settings. The issue is not whether differences in such behavior are due to personal or environmental effects alone, but how the nature of the interaction of such effects can be specified.

A few final comments will be made about the potential of the ecological analogy for designing therapeutic programs. This is an aspect of the ecological perspective which is often unstated or undeveloped. Not only does an analysis of natural settings give us new insights regarding the variation of behavior in different settings, but such a perspective informs us about the functions of the environment, and provides valid data for designing help. From this perspective, we have an extra view of the interactions of persons and settings and we can have a basis for treating the social setting as well as the individual. From our clinical experience we know that many of our preventive efforts fail unless we can "treat" the parents, the school setting, the peer group and the various natural social groupings, e.g. the surrounding community. As we learn more about the person and environment we can focus our designs for preventive interventions so as to include the context as the focus for our treatment. An ecological perspective can help us design the kinds of counseling sessions proposed by Dr. Chess for the parents of mentally retarded children. As Dr. Chess has reported, she found that didactic and direct counseling sessions with parents focusing upon specific behaviors of their children were effective in shifting parental responses to a more controlled and predictable environment for their offspring. Not only can parents' therapeutic role with their children be improved but an ecological perspective increases the chance that new resources within the family environment can be developed to fulfill tasks that are not now being performed by any one person. The ecological perspective helps find and develops new resources to fulfill the requirements for an environment's development.

Viewing the environment as a natural resource is an intriguing and provocative perspective for it forces us to look at the specific social environment for the types of help that are needed. As every environment varies it is expected that the types of personal and environmental concerns will vary and thus, the requirements for treatment will also change. For most of us this is a revolutionary premise, for it asserts that the methods for change derive from the unique conditions of the community and not solely from our professional techniques. The ecological perspective is not only comprehensive and theoretically additive, but it is useful and real. These comments emphasize that the ecological perspective is a natural and valid way of assessing and offering services for persons retarded and disabled. Such persons are not to be defined as innately disabled, but instead are viewed as a part of a maladaptive setting. To realize this aim requires that professional treatment deal with the noxious and limiting features of daily life as essential topics for valid community service.

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